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CONTEMPORARY PILGRIMS’ UNDERSTANDING OF THE SHIKOKU PILGRIMAGE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF KŌBŌ DAISHI

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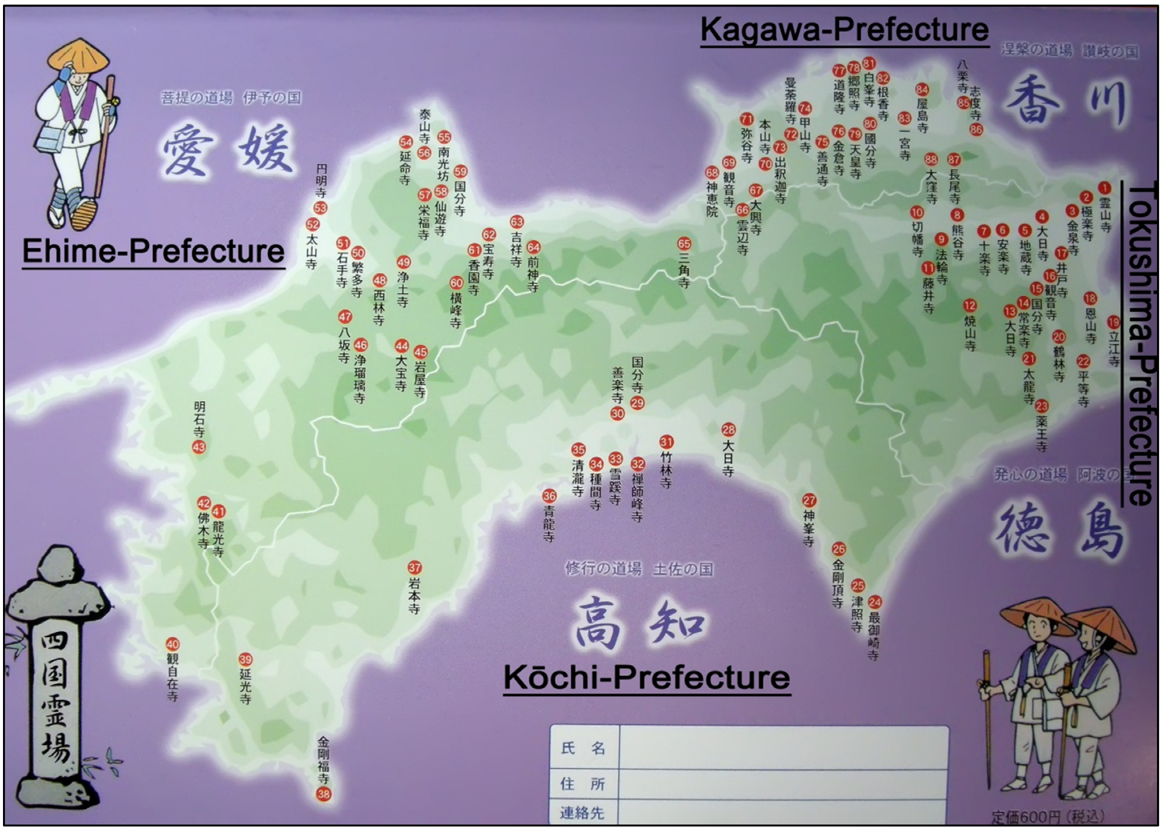
Abstract

This thesis analyses how contemporary pilgrims understand the 88-temple-Shikoku pilgrimage, and in particular what role Kōbō Daishi plays in their outlook and practices. The particular issue that this research addresses is that while Kōbō Daishi figures large in many of the popular presentations of the pilgrimage (in guidebooks, TV programmes, and in temple pamphlets), there is a question of what role he actually plays in the outlook and practices of contemporary pilgrims. The thesis therefore highlights the ways in which 'Kōbō Daishi' figures in the views and behaviour of pilgrims and those who support them: the various roles 'Kōbō Daishi' plays, and how these relate together, and to other themes and aspects of the pilgrimage, as well as pointing out aspects of the pilgrimage that are not focussed on Kōbō Daishi. In other words, how contemporary pilgrims make meaning of the pilgrimage and, in particular, Kōbō Daishi's place in this. Looking at the position of Kōbō Daishi and the legendary construction of the pilgrimage in the minds of the informants, it becomes clear that in their views, the 'real history' of the pilgrimage is not important compared to the legendary one centred on Kōbō Daishi, and this is seen in their adherence to legends and stories relating to him. Quantitative and qualitative research was conducted, including brief surveys and in-depth interactions with pilgrims, pilgrimage guides, those that give out alms, and temple officials to analyse contemporary pilgrims' understanding of the 'sacred' foci of the pilgrimage: Kōbō Daishi and his possible role in the Shikoku pilgrimage and its origin, with related issues of meaning-making, such as the Daishi-faith, Kōbō Daishi-tales, the various deities whose images are enshrined in the temples, Shinto and Buddhism and related rituals and the role that Kōbō Daishi is seen to have in pilgrims' thoughts about 'religion', pilgrimage items and related ritual behaviour, experiential aspects of the pilgrimage, people's motives for doing the pilgrimage, their understanding of Kōbō Daishi's role in healing, how he is seen as accompanying dead ancestors as well as the present pilgrims and aiding in communication of the living with the dead, etc. This research provides a useful window on how contemporary people relate to the pilgrimage, and a better general understanding of contemporary Japanese cultural practices and the world they live in, and how they seek to achieve well-being and happiness. Four appendixes and an extensive glossary round off this thesis.

Plate 1: Pilgrims climbing up the stairs to the main hall (*hon-dō*) of temple #2, Gokuraku-ji. The inscription on their back reads “Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō”, “Homage to the Saviour [Kōbō] Daishi, the Illuminating and Imperishable One” (transl. Miyata Taisen, 2006: 32); photograph taken on 5 May 2006

Map 1: Japan, Shikoku and key places (N-TV, 2009: URL)



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Rev. Nagasaki Shōkyō, head priest of temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji.

Rev. Katō Shunsei, head priest of temple #51, Ishite-ji.

Rev. Itawaki Shunkyō, head priest of temple #55, Nankō-bō, his sister and temple officer Itawaki Yuka, and Rev. Itawaki Shūkyō, their father and previous head priest.

Rev. Oyamada Kenshō, head priest of temple #58, Senyū-ji, and his son, deputy head priest Rev. Oyamada Kōken and his son’s wife Miki.

Rev. Habara Seiki, deputy head priest of temples #68, Jinne-in, and #69, Kanon-ji.

Rev. Kashihara *Zenchō* of temple #75, Zentsū-ji.

Rev. Ōtsuka Junji, deputy head priest of temple #80, Kokubun-ji.

Rev. Kondō Tatsuhiko, head priest of the *shin Shikoku mandara junrei* temple #1, Tōrin-in.

Rev. Katō Isshin, deputy head priest of the *shin Shikoku mandara junrei* temple #1, Tōrin-in.

Rev. Higashimoto Ryūshō, head priest and Rev. Higashimoto Takashi, deputy head priest, of *bekkaku* temple #20, Ōtaki-ji.

Rev. Arai Kōnin, head priest of *bekkaku*-temple #9, Monju-in.

Rev. Kinoshita Tokiko of temple #1, Ryōzen-ji.

Rev. Miyoba Ryūdo, head priest of Kōun-ji, Ōmijima-island.

All the *nōkyō-sho* officials of the 88 pilgrimage temples. Also included here are in particular Mr Suzaki Tadao of temple #1, Ryōzen-ji, and Mr Hirata Kiyoshi of temple #55, Nankō-bō.

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Ms Kihara Rie, Matsuyama.

Dr. Gerald Koll, Berlin.

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[1] This is the way they translate their organisation into English.

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Notes

Abbreviations

Ch. = Chinese
Jp. = Japanese
P. = Pāli
Skt. = Sanskrit
transl. = translated by

Orthography

Romanized Japanese: The macron is used in lesser known geographic names, such as Kōchi, but omitted in widely known, such as Tokyo, Osaka. It is also not used in the widely known term Shinto.

The hyphen is used as in the usual convention to clarify meaning: for example Ryōzen-ji and not Ryōzenji, 'Ryōzen' being the temple name and 'ji', meaning 'temple'.

Plural: Foreign words which are italicized receive a non-italicized ending to illustrate that the ending is not part of the foreign word: for example *stūpa*s. However, with regard to Japanese terms, as the use of plural forms, with 's' attached to the words would appear strange for a language that does not distinguish singular and plural, an 's' was not added in these cases, for example, *sendatsu* (and not *sendatsu*s).

Names

All Japanese names are written in the Japanese style: Family (or Buddhist) name first, then title (for example Daishi).

I kept the identity of my informants anonymous. With others, who are in the public domain, such as temple priests, or those who have published in various forms, I have asked for, and received permission, to identify and use their names.

Introduction

This pilgrimage covers the Island of Shikoku, which is the smallest of the four Japanese main islands, with a population of around four million people, living mainly around the coastline. In around forty-five days walking, or around eight days by car, or two weeks by package bus tour, covering approximately 1,400 km, the pilgrim visits 88 temples where he or she engages in some form of ‘religious’ activities (the term ‘religious’, especially in the Japanese context, will be analysed in chapter one).

Most people on the pilgrimage follow the traditional belief that Kūkai (774-835), generally known by his honorific title Kōbō Daishi, established and walked this pilgrimage (Shimazaki Tanaka Hiroshi, 1981: 241), having founded it in 815 (Fiona MacGregor, 2002: 10). This idea is supported by governmental publications, such as the government homepage of Tokushima-Prefecture (temples #1-#23 are located within Tokushima Prefecture), which also proposes a reason why Daishi founded it: “The Shikoku pilgrimage circuit, called *henro* in Japanese, links 88 temples said to have been founded around the year 815 by the famous Buddhist monk Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai) to protect pilgrims and others from misfortune” (2009: URL). Ian Reader (2005: 107) does not think we can place its beginnings as early as 815, and gives an example of a devotee of Kōbō Daishi, who had renovated a temple in Shikoku in the period 1058-1065 (108); he explains that the travels of ascetic devotees of Kōbō Daishi were the most likely initiators of the pilgrimage, noting that their travel paths might have been based upon, or at least been influenced by, existing regional religious folk traditions and practices (108-109). Gorai Shigeru argues that to pray at the ocean or to pray to the ocean gods was the first religious practice of someone engaging in the Shikoku pilgrimage (2009: 13). The first written documents specifically about the 88-temple pilgrimage appear in the 17th century – roughly 800 years after Kōbō Daishi (David Moreton, 2001: 4). Hence it seems most likely that predominantly post-Kōbō Daishi Buddhist monks or others engaged in ascetic practices, by visiting places on Shikoku Island that were already regarded as ‘holy’ and used by *yamabushi*[2], some of them located on mountains, and some having a connection to the ocean, gradually established the pilgrimage, as a network of

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[2] 山伏: mountain ascetic.

pilgrims' travel routes coalesced.

While having its origins in ascetic practices, most people now do it wholly or partly as a period of meaningful travel, as a time out from their normal routine, often enjoying the health and psychological benefits of the beauties of nature and the warm climate of this island. This thesis shall explore how contemporary participants experience the pilgrimage, and the meaning it holds for them, and what role Kōbō Daishi has in their understanding of it.

Regarding this, in his *A Henro Bilingual Guide to the 88 Temples of Shikoku Island*, Japan (first edition 1996, with the latest, 2006, fourth edition being used here), Rev. Miyata Taisen describes the pilgrimage experience as follows:

> An uncontrollable emotion sprung up from my heart. It was a cry of freedom – a freedom I had never felt so strongly before. I was part of the Inland Sea, part of the mountains and part of the island… Most pilgrims come back again and again... "Why do you take the Henro [Shikoku-88-temple-pilgrimage] journey so many times here?" They always answer in the same way: "Because there is unlimited joy of life in the Henro, because the Savior Odaishi-san (Kōbō Daishi) is still alive here saving us, and with us on the island. (2006: 9-11)

Guidebooks are a valuable source of information on how the pilgrimage is portrayed, such as *Shikoku henro hitori aruku dōgyo ninin: Kūkai no shiseki o tasunete* ('Shikoku Pilgrim, Walking Alone, Two [Walking] Together: [let's] Visit the Historical Spots of Kūkai', 1990), or *Hachijūhakka-ji shūhen gaidobukku* ('The 88 Holy Places and Surrounding Area Guidebook', 1990). Some provide beautiful photographs, such as *Sora kara meguru Shikoku reijō hachijūhakkasho* ('Travelling Around the 88 Holy Places of Shikoku by Air', 1985), *Seichi Kōyasan to Shikoku no sora to umi, Kōbō Daishi Kūkai no motometa sekai. Kōbō Daishi nyūjū sennihyakunen memoriaru* ('Holy Koyasan and Shikoku's Sky and Ocean, the World Kōbō Daishi Kūkai had Sought. Kōbō Daishi's 1,200-Year's Anniversary of his Entering Eternal Meditation', 2004) and the NHK[3] television-series *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho. Kokoro o tabi suru* ('Shikoku 88-Temple Pilgrimage. To Let the Spirit Go on a Trip', 2006), and *Awa Henro Bilingual Guidebooks for Pilgrims in Tokushima*, published in 1993 by the local government. Muro Tatsuo and David

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[3] Japan's national public broadcasting organization.

Moreton have also published a guidebook *A Journey of the Soul* (2008). These are all valuable resources, because they show how those involved in the construction of the pilgrimage want it to be seen and characterized, such as the cover of Miyata's guidebook, from where the above quote was taken, which depicts an elderly couple (Mr and Mrs Kurata), dressed in traditional pilgrimage outfit, walking through a field of flowers, with lush mountains in the background, with no one else, or any buildings, visible. But is this really so, or just a beautiful image of a perfect pilgrimage world? Reader's article 'Positively Promoting Pilgrimage. Media Representations of Pilgrimage in Japan' (2007) provides valuable information:

> My recent study of the Shikoku pilgrimage shows that the increase in Shikoku pilgrimage numbers since the mid-1990s has been boosted by the massive interest shown by the mass media in the topic, and by the extremely positive images that have been presented therein as a result. (15)

Temple pamphlets and travel company brochures are also important is this respect. For example, as for the present day, a pamphlet of temple #51, Ishite-ji, states that people should consider doing the pilgrimage when their child or a family member or friend has died, when they have lost their job or suffer from a chronic disease, if they contemplate committing suicide, or to repent sins.

The experiences of Yaara Morris (*Pilgrims of the Empty Roads: A Travelogue of the Shikoku Henro*, 2007) are used for this thesis, with regard to reasons for doing the pilgrimage, and these are compared and contrasted with those cited by Joanne Hershfield (*Between two Worlds*, 1992), Waseda University's *Shikoku henro to henro michi ni kansuru ishiki chōsa* ('An investigation into the relation between the Shikoku pilgrim and the pilgrimage path', 1997). Kagawa University's (Chīki Shakai Sysutemu Gakka, Imada Kenkyushitsu) *Shikoku henro kara keizai o miru* ('A look at the economy through the Shikoku *henro'*, 2008) and Kihara's interviews with foreigners (*Shikoku Pilgrimage, a Study of Foreign Pilgrims from a Japanese Point of View*, 2009). *O-settai*, almsgiving for pilgrims, is discussed in Reader (2005), Moreton's *The History of Charitable Almsgiving Along the Shikoku Pilgrimage Route* (2001), and his paper 'An Examination of Travel Literature on the Shikoku Pilgrimage Route and Warnings Contained Within' (2005), and Asakawa Yasuhiro's *Junrei no bunka. Jinruigakuteki kenkyū – Shikoku henro no settai bunka* ('Pilgrimage Culture. Anthropological Research – the culture of *settai* [alms giving] in the

Shikoku pilgrimage', 2008), Ehime-Prefecture's Lifelong Studies' *Henro no kokoro* ('Spirit of *henro*', 2003) are all key-works and discusses how local people, temple officials, priests, and fellow pilgrims, tell stories about the pilgrimage, and explain alms-giving. For this thesis, travel diaries are also a valuable source for academic studies of the historical, sociological and religious aspects of pilgrimages, with particular reference to meaning and the change of meaning over time. Diaries that will be analysed in this thesis are from as early as 1918 (Takamure Itsue, *Musume junreiki* ('A pilgrimage Diary of a Young Woman', 1979 first edition), but also Nishibata Sakae (*Shikoku 88 fudasho henroki* ('A Diary of the Shikoku 88-Temple Pilgrimage', 1964 first edition), Takada Shinkai (*Sutete aruke* ('Throw Away and Walk', 1994)[4], and Kobayashi Atsuhiro (*Teinen kara dōgyō ninin* ('Two are Walking Together After Retirement', 1994 first edition); the last becoming successful and influential, as pilgrims could well use his experiences and detailed descriptions to help guide their pilgrimage.[5] One of my informants told me[6] this book is her "*henro* bible", which she studied before she embarked on it. Some sources, such as the Asahi-newspaper article *Henro tabi musuko ni aeta* ('I met my son doing the pilgrimage', 1996), explain very personal reasons for doing the pilgrimage. The accounts of certain foreigners, who might have different experiences of the pilgrimage than Japanese, for example by Oliver Statler (*Japanese Pilgrimage*, 1977), Don Weiss (*Echoes of Incense*, 1994), Morris (2007) and Gerald Koll (*88 Pilgern auf Japanisch*, 2007) will be evaluated. Data from Fiona MacGregor's (2002) and Kihara Rie's recent research (2009) on foreign pilgrims in Shikoku will be included in the critical analysis.

On-line diaries are also fascinating to look at for material on how pilgrims show their experiences and understandings of their pilgrimages. Included here is a recent one from Hana, a person whom I had become friendly with during her pilgrimage in the autumn of 2010.

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[4] Shinkai (1934-) had walked it *tōshi-uchi* (clockwise), after his *yakudoshi* (misfortune year, 42 years of age). He talks about his life in a book that was published in 1994 as a manga.

[5] Kobayashi went from Yokohama to Takamatsu, however, he did not start his pilgrimage at any temple near the city of arrival (which could have been, for example, the significant temple #75, Zentsū-ji), but took the train to start at temple #1, Ryōzen-ji, and then he continued clockwise in a complete circle, starting on 10 July1988 (1994: 14), and finishing on 20 August 1988 (269). It therefore took him only 41 days for the pilgrimage.

[6] On 25 April 2009 at temple #6, Anraku-ji, where we stayed at the temple's accommodation.

The pilgrimage has indeed become a commodity: the result of a search on Amazon-Japan on 8 July 2011 under the keyword "四国遍路" *Shikoku henro* listed 470 books, 22 DVDs, 4 videos, and 3 video-games (!); a search-result under "四国巡礼" *Shikoku junrei* listed 399 books and "四国八十八" *Shikoku 88* even 558 books. Music, too, benefits, also financially, from this pilgrimage: the soundtrack for the NHK series is available on the market, and in particular, Japanese musician Kitaro (born ~1953)[7] has released four CD albums about the pilgrimage: "Sacred Journey of Kūkai" Vol. 1 (2003), Vol. 2 (2005), Vol. 3 (2007), and "Shikoku 88 Places" (2004). The last was, in his words, his answer to the 11 September 2001 attack (quoted in http://www.kitaromusic.com/Shikoku.htm). The "Sacred journey of Kūkai" visits all 88 temples, where he had recorded sounds of nature and temple instruments (such as their bells); coinciding with the release of the first volume in this series, he visited some temples again to, as he put it, "say thanks"[8].

These are all valuable resources, because they show how those involved in the pilgrimage want it to be seen and characterized – though whether this is how contemporary pilgrims experience and regard it is something that needs to be analysed though fieldwork in this thesis.

In the context of this thesis, the most outstanding and detailed publication on the Shikoku pilgrimage is Ian Reader's *Making Pilgrimages. Meaning and Practice in Shikoku* (2005). This key work, that positions itself not only in the area of social, but also religious studies, uses data acquired through field studies (such as observations and interviews), incorporates important literature related to this field of research, analyses the history and present state of the pilgrimage, and shows what meaning the pilgrimage has for all of its participants (the pilgrims as well as other participants, including temple priests, locals, and business entities). Other key academic works are: Abé Ryūichi's *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (1999), Hakeda Yoshito's *Kūkai, Major Works* (1972), Shiraki Toshiyuki and Yoritomi Motohiro's *Shikoku henro no kenkyū* ('Studies on the Shikoku Pilgrimage', 2001), Osada Koichi, Sakata Masaaki, and Seki Mitsuo's

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[7] As a side-note, pilgrimage temple #44, Taihō-ji, is particularly related to musicians: it is visited by musicians to give thanks for success.

[8] I know this because I accompanied him on this occasion on 7 September 2003 at temples #11, Fuji-dera, and #12, Shōzan-ji.

Gendai no Shikoku henro – michi no shakaigaku no shiten kara (‘Contemporary Shikoku pilgrimage – a road from a social studies’ perspective’, 2003), Hoshino Eiki’s ‘Pilgrimage and Peregrination. Contextualizing the Saikoku Junrei and the Shikoku Henro’ (1997) and *Shikoku henro no shūkyōgakuteki kenkyū* (‘Religious studies on the Shikoku *henro’*, 2001), Natalie Kouamé’s ‘Shikoku’s Local Authorities and *Henro* During the Golden Age of the Pilgrimage’ (1997) and *Pélerinage et société dans le Japon des Tokugawa: le pélerinage de Shikoku entre 1598 et 1868* (‘Pilgrimage and society in Japan during Tokugawa: the pilgrimage in Shikoku during 1598 and 1868’, 2001), and Gorai Shigeru’s *Shikoku henro no tera* (‘Shikoku Henro Temples’, 1996).

All of the above publications are indeed valuable, for example, Kagawa University’s study of pilgrims in Takamatsu-Prefecture during 2007, and Waseda University’s study of pilgrims during 1996. Hoshino’s data (2001) that is used in this thesis’ appendix B is from Ehime for the years 1925-43 [excluding 1932-34 and 1939-40], and Kouamé’s from 1598 to 1868 are important. These last two, of course, cover historical aspects more than present developments, and as Reader writes:

> As Hoshino is deeply aware, the *henro*’s complex history has had a massive imprint on its nature in the present day, and hence he is aware that one needs to look in detail also at its past, and at the imprints and shadows that the past has on the present, if one is to make proper sense of the pilgrimage as it is today. (2003: 126)

In my fieldwork, I inspected several thousand *osame-fuda*[9] of past pilgrims, covering the time-span of the years 1816-1911, at the Nishida family at their *zenkonyado*[10], but my analyses of these will be added in the appendix B. This is because, while quantitative data is important, as will be discussed in the section ‘Qualitative and quantitative research’ in chapter two, I also wanted qualitative data, so as to analyse how contemporary participants experience the pilgrimage, and the meaning it holds for them, and what role Kōbō Daishi has in their understanding of it: to understand what ‘goes on in their heads’, here and now. So, in 2007, I started out by collecting ‘hard’ data – to lay the base for my research; I got more acquainted with the

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[9] 納札. As a traditional pilgrimage ritual, this paper slip, containing the pilgrim’s name and sometimes wish, is handed out to the temple as well as anyone from whom one receives a gift or help.

[10] 善根宿, *house of good deeds:* free private accommodation for pilgrims.

pilgrimage, the temples, participants, and the processes involved: I needed, first of all, to become more familiar with the basic facts of the pilgrimage. I later had many in-depth interactions with pilgrims, temple officials, those that give out *o-settai*[11], and *sendatsu*[12], for getting to know what 'went on in their heads', how they construct their meaning of the pilgrimage, and how they see Kōbō Daishi in this – in each I observed, listened to, and recorded what they told me over an hour or so, being careful not to indirectly put words into people's mouths, such as by leading questions.

Matsuo Shinkū's *Hito wa naze junrei ni tabidatsu noka* ('Why do people go on a pilgrimage?', 2008) gives as reasons for doing the Shikoku pilgrimage: meeting and enjoying the fellowship and community of other pilgrims, sharing experiences and helping each other and thus becoming becoming friendly with each other (182-183). This thesis uses the term '*nakayoshi*'[13] to describe this bond that sometimes forms between pilgrims. Shinkū gives his own experiences as well as that of a few other pilgrims, but stays somewhat general and does not give a detailed analysis of contemporary pilgrims' understanding of the pilgrimage, especially their oral construction, in which I would like to see the original wording that the informants used. These aspects need to be addressed in this thesis.

Kobayashi Kiyū included 31 short interviews in his work 'Route 88' (2003). He focusses on younger pilgrims (average age: 27), mostly walkers, some were doing it for the first time, some were repeaters, some did it in one go, whilst some cut it into manageable pieces. These interviews reveal much about reasons for doing the pilgrimage and experiences along the way, but no participant ever mentioned the terms 'Kōbō Daishi' or 'Kūkai'. So: is Kōbō Daishi/ Kūkai not important for them? This needs further addressing througthout the thesis, and it will be found that my informants do feel closer to him, such as because of the ascetic nature of their travels (as they felt a sense of kinship with the walking Kōbō Daishi because he too had problems along the way, such as he and a contemporary pilgrim slept under the 'bridge of ten nights'), while bus and other pilgrims show evidence of faith in their prayers – see for example pages 134, 135, 199 and 207).

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[11] お接待, alms-giving as support for pilgrims.

[12] 先達, official pilgrimage-leader, appointed by the association of the 88 pilgrimage temples.

[13] See note 109 on page 90.

Shiraki and Yoritomi give a valuable analysis of the Shikoku pilgrimage, explaining its history and other details, such as how tales and legends influenced and promoted the pilgrimage, that Kūkai could not have established it (2001: 16), but that ascetic monks from Mount Kōya might have been the first to visit Shikoku (18), and one of their findings is that (the historical) Kūkai should not be equated with the Kōbō Daishi of myth and legend (18-19). The question remains: how do contemporary pilgrims understand this? What position has 'Kōbō Daishi' in their legendary construction of the pilgrimage? Some further investigation of pilgrims 'on the ground' in Shikoku to produce 'deep' data needs to be conducted.

When Asakawa analyses *o-settai*, and talks about the habit of collecting *osame-fuda* in a rice-basket at the private home of a person who gives out alms, he includes a photograph of such a basket (2008: 163), which was taken in a public space ('Henro Salon'), without further interviews. This thesis also analyses this aspect of pilgrimage-culture, and introduces a photograph taken at a private home, where I asked the owner (and further informants on other occasions, too) to tell me what this means for him, why his family did *o-settai*, how they have learned about these traditions, how they do it now, how they transmit these customs to the next generation, and so on, so as to get 'rich' data. Asakawa concludes that his research showed (433-436) that *o-settai* was a habit, which donors learned and copied from parents; and other people do this, so one also does it; that it promotes community feeling between those that give out alms, and that they give it out because the pilgrims are identified with Kōbō Daishi (434-435). Yet it needs to be further asked, for example, how is this understood by contemporary participants (locals and pilgrims), what they think its origins are, if alms-giving serves to build ties between the participants as well as reciprocal links with the pilgrims, which bonds are formed by whom and why: what do they, in their own words, tell the researcher?

Osada, Sakata and Seki' *Gendai no Shikoku henro – michi no shakaigaku no shiten kara* ('Contemporary Shikoku pilgrimage – from the perspective of a sociology of the road', 2003) is a key-work about the Shikoku pilgrimage from a social studies' point of view, but sometimes their data, of 2001 (2003: 124), needs a little updating, for example the *sendatsu*-list they give only extends until 1989 and one further rank of *sendatsu* was added in the meantime (126). This thesis will clarify these issues.

Another aspect that one would want more on is why do people wish to become *sendatsu*, and what does it mean for them?

Bringing it all together, the particular issue that this research addresses is that while Kōbō Daishi figures large in many of the popular presentations of the pilgrimage (in guidebooks, TV programmes, and in temple pamphlets), there is a question of what role he actually plays in the outlook and practices of contemporary pilgrims. The thesis will therefore highlight the ways in which 'Kōbō Daishi' figures in the views and behaviour of pilgrims and those who support them: the various roles 'Kōbō Daishi' plays, and how these relate together, and to other themes and aspects of the pilgrimage, as well as pointing out aspects of the pilgrimage that are not focussed on Kōbō Daishi. In other words, how contemporary pilgrims make meaning of the pilgrimage and, in particular, Kōbō Daishi's place in this. Looking at the position of Kōbō Daishi and the legendary construction of the pilgrimage in the minds of my informants, it will become clear that in their views, the 'real history' of the pilgrimage is not important compared to the legendary one centred on Kōbō Daishi, and this is seen in their adherence to legends and stories relating to him. Long interviews show how people naturally draw on commonly held beliefs, especially if they have never come across more sceptical academic accounts. And this thesis shows how conduct and belief are very context-dependent in Japan, so, regarding less devout pilgrims, these would still go along with such understandings to some extent. Furthermore, my informants showed that, although they might talk of it as a 'story' and a 'legend', they, to varying extents, temporarily enter the 'world' of the stories, and thus feel their force. The thesis will explain how Kōbō Daishi is regarded, and felt, as 'close' to humans, as ever-available on the pilgrimage route to those doing the pilgrimage with faith, watchfully guiding and protecting those pilgrims who believe in him; and those that don't yet, might still relate miraculous events that happen during the pilgrimage to his 'power'. Kōbō Daishi is seen to exists here and now, somewhere on the boundaries of Buddha-worlds and this-world, being 'alive' in his mausoleum, and at the same time present in limitless manifestations, including in Shikoku, helping, supporting and guiding pilgrims and those who believe in him (for example, see plate 69). For my informants, memorialising the dead was important because the spirits of the dead were seen to have to be cleansed of karmic and spiritual 'pollution'. 'Dirty' (polluted) spirits were thought to be dangerous, harming the family and even their village, so one needed to appease them through rites (such as conducting the pilgrimage), so that they would calm down and become then protecting guardian spirits. For my informants, by appeasing ancestors and Kōbō Daishi, they receive in return mercy and blessings from all of them. Kōbō Daishi is seen as accompanying the dead relative as well as present pilgrim, 'watching over them', and aiding communication of the living with the dead. Indeed, Kōbō Daishi is seen as ever watchful, and the merit of doing the pilgrimage further pleases Kōbō Daishi, who also then becomes even more of a protector through extending this protection and 'blessing' to the dead as well as to the living family members; and the more often one does the pilgrimage, merit gained and blessings received increase, too.

Fieldwork will look at what 'value' pilgrimage items have for the pilgrims, for example, whether one can convert 'cash value' into karmic benefit. It will become clear that it does not mean 'value' in monetary terms, but in 'specialness' or 'sacredness', and how a higher cost is seen as a sign of a higher 'specialness', which shows devotion, and greater dedication to Kōbō Daishi. As to my informants, they believed that Kōbō Daishi was 'blessing' their life, including arranging for good things to happen to them, and for their longevity, and contemporary examples of experienced healing-power of Kōbō Daishi will be given and analysed, to understand what role Kōbō Daishi, and in particular faith in him, are seen to have in healing. This study of contemporary pilgrims' understanding of the Shikoku pilgrimage, and the role that Kōbō Daishi plays in this, gives a better understanding of contemporary pilgrims' patterns of practices and their understandings thereof, and by this one can get a better general understanding of contemporary Japanese cultural practices and the world they live in, such as how they seek to achieve well-being and happiness.

The reason why I am interested in this topic is not only because I am a Buddhist priest[14], and have lived on Shikoku Island between May 1992 until August 2006[15],

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[14] Ordained on 26 November 2000 at 曹洞宗 専門僧堂 佛國山 瑞応寺 Sōtō-*shū* training monastery Bukkoku-zan Zuiō-ji in Niihama-city, Ehime-Prefecture, Shikoku (long. 33.9197, lat. 133.3018, alt. 101m; located between pilgrimage temples #64, Maegami-ji, and #65, Sankaku-ji), under head abbot Narasaki Tsūgen *Daioshō*. I became his *Dharma*-successor on 31 May 2003. The term 'monastery' is used where several novice-priests (see also note 264 on page 159) live and train together; however, where a resident priest lives with his family, I use the term 'temple'– see Pussel (2008: 97-98) and Sōtō-*shū* Shūmuchō (2010: 147-148) on this.

but also because I have completed the pilgrimage several times, and have been appointed as a *sendatsu*[16] on 1 December 2009 by the Reijōkai[17], and will be appointed as second-rank (*gonchū*) *sendatsu* on 2 December 2011; in addition, I am one of the 80 founding members of the *higashi Nippon sendatsu kai* (East Japan *Sendatsu* Association), established on 21 May 2011[18]. Furthermore, I first did the pilgrimage between 21 April 1993 and 23 October 1994 (clockwise, in parts, by walking and using other forms of public transportation). After moving to Tokyo, I subsequently completed the pilgrimage again (always by rented car) for the second time between 15 and 21 March 2007; the third completion was between 15 and 20 October 2007. The fourth time was between 8 and 15 April 2008, when I also briefly visited the 20 *bekkaku*[19]-temples. I also visited Shikoku between 24 and 26 August 2008. Furthermore, I visited the island of Ōmishima in Ehime Prefecture from 10 to 12 November 2008. From 22 to 28 April 2009 I visited Shikoku again. My subsequent visit was from 19 to 26 May 2009. My next visit to the island was from 2 to 12 December 2009, during which I completed the pilgrimage for a fifth time. I was again on Shikoku from 24 October to 1 November 2010, and will have completed the pilgrimage again for a sixth time in 2011. My extensive fieldwork that I have conducted during these visits, and the rationale underlying these, will be explained in detail in chapter 2, 'Fieldwork and approaches to research; issues, methods and processes'.

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[15] In Tokushima Prefecture.

[16] Rev. Fuchikawa informed me when I met at the Reijōkai-offices on 25 May 2011 that as of that date, there are two further foreign *sendatsu*, both in the first rank: the American Kevin Seperic (appointed in 2006), and the Dutch Dr. Henny van der Veere (appointed in 2007).

[17] 霊場会: the official association for the 88 pilgrimage temples on Shikoku Island.

[18] 東日本先達会. This meeting was attended by around 60 members. Unfortunately, I could not attend, as I was out doing fieldwork in Shikoku. This *Higashi Nippon sendatsu kai* has its head office at 長仙寺 Chōsen-ji-temple in Tokyo, and its chairman is Yusa Toshikazu *daisendatsu*. The current chairman of the Reijōkai, Rev. Sakai Tomohiro, who is also the head priest of pilgrimage temple #26, Kongōchō-ji, attended and gave a lecture about the life of Kōbō Daishi. The Vice Minister of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, Otsuka Kōhei, also gave a speech about the teachings of o-Daishi-*sama*. The second-in-command of the Reijōkai, Rev. Itō Seiryū, who is also the head priest of pilgrimage temple #35, Kiyotaki-ji, also attended the meeting. Rev. Sakai Tsunehiro, head priest of Chōsen-ji, which is also the head office of the *Higashi Nippon sendatsu kai*, is the son of the Reijōkai-chairman, Rev. Sakai Tomohiro of pilgrimage temple #26.

[19] 別格 *bekkaku*: a temple that belongs to a group of 20 temples that have united as a *bekkaku-junrei*, *bekkaku pilgrimage*, bringing the total of pilgrimage temples to: 88 + 20 = 108. Established in 1969, it uses similar items and accessory as the 88-temple pilgrimage.

Regarding its structure, this thesis is divided into eight chapters, four appendixes, a glossary, and an extensive bibliography. Chapter one gives a thorough introduction to ‘pilgrimage’, ‘religion’ and ‘religious’ in the contemporary world, and in particular in Japan. Works discussed in this chapter are: Coleman and Elsner’s *Pilgrimage – Past and Present in the World Religions* (1995), Peter Jan Margry (ed.), *Shrines and Pilgrimage in the Modern World. New Itineraries into the Sacred* (2008), Émile Durkheim’s *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1915), Peter Berger’s *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Approach* (1963) and *The Sacred Canopy. Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (1967), Berger and Thomas Luckmann’s *Social Construction of Reality* (1966), Linda Woodhead (ed., with Paul Heelas and David Martin) in *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion* (2001), Ninian Smart’s *Worldviews. Crosscultural Explorations of Human Beliefs* (1995), Timothy Fitzgerald’s *The Ideology of Religious Studies* (2000), Alan Aldridge’s *Religion in the Contemporary World* (2007), John Hinnells’ (ed.) *A New Handbook of Living Religions* (1997), a discussion between Reader and Richard Anderson in 1991 in three editions of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* (Reader’s ‘Letters to the Gods – The Form and Meaning of Ema’, Anderson’s ‘What Constitutes Religious Activity? I’, and Reader’s ‘What Constitutes Religious Activity? II’). These are all works that are used in this chapter to understand the nature of ‘religion’ and ‘pilgrimage’, how contemporary pilgrims understand and experience this Shikoku pilgrimage, what and why pilgrims believe, why and how they act, and, more generally, to discover areas that are of concern to the contemporary Japanese. For this, the meaning of ‘religious’ in the Japanese context needed to be understood first. And to decipher the perceptions and experiences of pilgrims, textual work to lay the base, and then in particular ethnographic fieldwork was necessary; in fact, these interactions in the field are the basis of the thesis.

Chapter two then explains the various perspectives in social research: firstly, different kinds of methodological perspectives and issues to be alert to are looked at (objectivism, positivism, empiricism, validity, feminism, ethnographic methodology, constructivism and interpretivism, qualitative and quantitative research, and linguistic aspects of meaning-making in Japan), which relate to the *approaches* for this thesis’ fieldwork. Alan Byrman’s *Social Research Methods* (2001), Tim May’s *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process* (2001), Kathrin Herr and Gary

Anderson's *The Action Research Dissertation. A Guide to Students and Faculty* (2005) are the main works used in this part. Then, my fieldwork methods, which were both quantitative (hard data through brief surveys), and qualitative (rich and deep data through long interactions) – both approaches complemented each other for this thesis – are carefully described in detail, which relates to its sources: my informants, who, as will be explained, were all 'typical' pilgrims, so the findings of the research are representative and have some broader applicability, such as a better general understanding of contemporary Japanese cultural practices and the world they live in, for example, what they wish to achieve for their well-being and happiness.

Chapter three looks at Kōbō Daishi, his possible role in the Shikoku pilgrimage, and gives an initial review of contemporary pilgrims' understanding of this, with related issues of meaning-making. It first draws an outline of the life of Kōbō Daishi Kūkai in the context of this thesis' area of research. Then it looks at the possible connection of Kōbō Daishi with the origin of the pilgrimage and its temples, the Daishi *shinkō* (faith) and some stories and tales related to this. The chapter looks at the position of Kōbō Daishi and the legendary construction of the pilgrimage in the minds of pilgrims. Some of the works that are used in this chapter, which also draws much on my fieldwork are: Shiraki Toshiyuki and Yoritomi Motohiro's *Shikoku henro no kenkyū* ('Studies on the Shikoku Pilgrimage', 2001), Hakeda Yoshito's *Kūkai. Major Works* (1972), Shiba Ryotaro's *Kukai the Universal. Scenes from His Life* (2005), Takeuchi Kōzen's *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai no kenkyū* ('Studies on Kōbō Daishi Kūkai', 2006), Gerald Koll's *Henro boke: Pilgern auf Japanisch* ('Henro boke: Pilgrimage in Japanese', 2011) and *88. Pilgern auf Japanisch* ('88. Pilgrimage in Japanese', 2008), Reader's *Making Pilgrimages. Meaning and Practice in Shikoku* (2005), Miyata Taisen's *A Henro Pilgrimage Guide to the 88 Temples of Shikoku Island*, *Japan*, (2006), and Willa Tanabe's 'The Persistence of Self a Body and Personality in Japanese Buddhist Art' (1998).

Chapter four looks at the various 'sacred' foci of the pilgrimage, particularly as embodied in statues, especially ones generally hidden from public view, of various Buddhist deities. The chapter draws heavily on fieldwork, as well as on works such as Suzuki Michitaka's *Hibutsu (Hidden Buddha) Living Images in Japan and the*

Orthodox Icons (2011). The chapter also looks at the relation of Shinto and Buddhism and related rituals and contemporary pilgrims’ understanding of these, as well as their own religious affiliation in relation to Buddhism and Shinto and thoughts about ‘religion’, including mixed Shinto and Buddhist beliefs on people’s post-mortem state. While chapter one’s section on “‘religion’ and ‘religious’ in Japan” has a general discussion of pilgrims’ own religious affiliation, what they think about ‘religion’ and the relation of Shinto and Buddhism, what they do (and why) at pilgrimage sites, these are here discussed in the explicit context of contemporary understanding of Shikoku pilgrims. Also, death, ancestor memorial and related rites and customs, and in particular the role that Kōbō Daishi plays in these, are important areas of contemporary pilgrims’ understanding that are looked at in this chapter.

Chapter five analyses pilgrimage behaviour, including the meaning of various pilgrimage items, related ritual behaviour, and pilgrims' views of the significance of ways of doing the pilgrimage. One of the many aspects touched on is the high costs involved, and the question of whether one can one convert ‘cash expenditure’ to karmic benefit? Or, in other words, what is the ‘value’ of various pilgrimage items for pilgrims, and why? What do my informants mean when they tell me that one shows dedication to the pilgrimage and to Kōbō Daishi by collecting expensive items? Do walking pilgrims generally feel closer to Kōbō Daishi, or not? Although this part draws heavily on my fieldwork, literature consulted here are Tanaka Hiroshi’s ‘The Evolution of a Representative Japanese Pilgrimage as a Complex Self-Organizing Organism’ (1999), Natalie Kouamé’s ‘Shikoku’s Local Authorities and *Henro* During the Golden Age of the Pilgrimage’ (1997), Kihara Rie’s *Shikoku Pilgrimage. A Study of Foreign Pilgrims from a Japanese Point of View* (2009), and a Tosa-city government publication, *Tosashi-shi* (‘History of Tosa-city’, 1973).

Chapter six examines various common motives for doing the pilgrimage, before focussing on ones relating to curing illnesses and memorialising the dead. It looks at how contemporary pilgrims understand Shikoku pilgrimage-temple traditions relating to the cure of illnesses and diseases, and the role that Kōbō Daishi has, such as through related tales, in the construction of the pilgrimage as seen by pilgrims. It examines how contemporary pilgrims understand ancestor memorials, and the various forms of memorialising dead relatives, and the relation of Shikoku and death.

It also analyses various Japanese ideas about what happens when one dies, and how one might be able to help the dead, and the pilgrimage as being seen to bring both this-worldly benefits and benefits to the already dead, and for oneself when one dies, and how these matters relate in particular to Kōbō Daishi. In this chapter, too, much fieldwork data is used, supplemented by other available data of research by others, such as: temple pamphlets, Ōtsukichō-shi Henshū-iinkai's *Ōtsukichō-shi* ('History of Ōtsuki- town', 1995), Alfred Bohner *Wallfahrt zu zweien* ('Pilgrimage of Two People Together', ed. by David Moreton, 2010), Takamure Itsue's *Musume Junreiki* ('A pilgrimage diary of a young woman', 1979 edition), Joanne Hershfield's *Between two Worlds: A Japanese Pilgrimage* (1992), Tommi Mendel's *Arukihenro.Walking Pilgrims* (2006), Asashi and Mainichi Newspaper publications (1996 and 1995).

Chapter seven looks at those who support pilgrims, and their motives. Selfless alms-giving to pilgrims has a strong tradition in Shikoku. Fieldwork looks at how those who support pilgrims understand this, such as whether there are some karmic or other benefits, and how the traditions involved are understood. Connections to Kōbō Daishi, and related tales, and how these are understood by contemporary participants, are analysed. Moral obligations, community-bonding and sharing, are seen as generating karmic benefit, forming reciprocal links with outsiders, between the group members of the alms-giving-participants, as well as with the temple where they conduct their activities. These are all areas that are looked at through an analysis of extensive fieldwork, as is how pilgrimage-guides understand their 'work', and how pilgrims see these guides. Two of the works used here are Kouamé's *Pélerinage et société dans le Japon des Tokugawa: le pélerinage de Shikoku entre 1598 et 1868* ('Pilgrimage and society in Japan during Tokugawa: the pilgrimage in Shikoku during 1598 and 1868', 2001) and Moreton's *The History of Charitable Giving Along the Shikoku Pilgrimage Route* (2001).

Chapter eight brings the findings of this thesis together and also shows further areas of studies. Four appendixes inform on the origin and identity of pilgrims, and their mode of travel, all drawing on my fieldwork and data from Kouamé (2001), Hoshino (2001), Waseda University (1996) and Kagawa University (2008), and a list gives the temples in alphabetical order. An extensive glossary rounds this thesis up.

Chapter 1: Introduction to 'pilgrimage', 'religion', and 'religious'

Pilgrimage

The term *pilgrimage* derives from the Latin *peregrinum*, "stranger", and *peregre*, "from abroad" both from *per*, "through", and *ager*, "country", "land" (Linda Kay Davidson and David Martin Gitlitz, 2002: 478). Keene explains the *pilgrimage* as:

> a journey undertaken for a religious motive [whether pilgrimages always must have a 'religious' motive, and what 'religious' means, will be analysed in the thesis]. Although some pilgrims have wandered around continuously with no fixed destination, pilgrims more commonly seek a specific place that has been sanctified by association with a divinity or other holy personage. The institution of pilgrimage is evident in all world religions and was also important in the pagan religions of the ancient Greece and Rome (2009: URL).

Pilgrimages are indeed found throughout the word and throughout recorded history. There are Jewish pilgrimages, the Meccan pilgrimage for Muslims, the pilgrimage to Benares and the Ganges river for Hindus (Coleman and Elsner, 1995: throughout), the Sekket's shrine at Bubastis or Ammon's oracle at Thebes for ancient Egyptians, Apollo at Delphi for the ancient Greeks, the temple of Quetzal for the pre-Columbus Mexicans, and Cusco for the Incas. There are many Christian pilgrimages, for example to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, Canterbury in England, Rome in Italy, and so forth (Webb, 2002: throughout): Jarrett lists (URL, 2009: 4-19) altogether 105 major Catholic pilgrimage places[20]; and some scholars argue that these started at about 200 CE, with Palestine as a goal (Webb, 2002: 1).

Regarding Buddhist pilgrimages, Tanaka states that they emerged in India in the 6th century BCE (1981: 240), but the death of the Buddha is now generally dated ~400 BCE, and pilgrimage to sites associated with him would have taken a little time to develop, so the 4th century is more likely. Places associated with the four main events

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[20] As far afield as France (34 places), Italy (14), England (13), Spain (9), Germany (5), Belgium (5), Ireland (4), Wales (3), Scotland (3), Palestine (2), Poland (2), Switzerland (2), USA, Greece, Ceylon, Chile, Turkey, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Brazil and Canada (1 each).

of the Buddha's life have become the goal of pilgrimages, and are called the places of the *Caturmahāpratihārya*, the *Four Great Wonders* (his birth at Lumbinī, attaining enlightenment at Bodh Gayā, his first teaching delivered at Sārnāth, and his attaining *parinirvāṇa* at Kuśinagara)[21]. The importance of making a pilgrimage to these places is stressed in the Pāli *Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta* (on the last days of the Buddha), which is found in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (II 72-167):

> There are four places, Ānanda[22], that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence. What are the four?
> "Here the Tathāgata was born!" This, Ānanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence [at Lumbinī].
> "Here the Tathāgata became fully enlightened in unsurpassed, supreme Enlightenment!" This, Ānanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence [at Bodh Gayā].
> "Here the Tathāgata set rolling the unexcelled Wheel of the Dhamma!" This, Ānanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence [at Sārnāth].
> "Here the Tathāgata passed away into the state of Nibbana in which no element of clinging remains!" This, Ānanda, is a place that a pious person should visit and look upon with feelings of reverence [at Kuśinagara].
> These, Ānanda, are the four places that a pious person should sit and look upon with feelings of reverence. …And whoever, Ānanda, should die on such a pilgrimage[23] with his heart established in faith, at the breaking up of the body, after death, will be reborn in a realm of heavenly happiness (D.II.140-1).[24]

In this text, the spiritual value of pilgrimage to these sites, which have a significant connection to the Buddha's life, is stated, even claiming that if one died on such as pilgrimage, one would be reborn in *sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ*, 'a good destiny, a heavenly world' – in other words, a heavenly rebirth. The wording of the above quote shows that the key thing is that people *believe* a site to have a particular

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[21] There are many other sites that became a focus of Buddhist pilgrimages. Most outstanding here are the place where tradition has it that he performed miracles at Śrāvastī; where he descended from a heaven (where he taught his mother, who had died shortly after his birth) at Sāṃkāśya; where he overcame attempts to kill him at Rājagṛha; and where monkeys dug out a pool for the Buddha and offered him refreshments at Vaiśālī. Together, these and the places of the *Four Great Wonders* are called *Aṣṭamahāprātihārya*, the places of the *Eight Wonders*, and are located all around the Ganges Basin.

[22] Ānanda (Jp. Anan) was one of the ten great disciples of the Buddha, and was important in remembering and reciting the *Sūtra*s at the First Council after the Buddha's death (though Reader points out that they probably did not recite the whole of the present scripture, 2005: 73-74).

[23] Harvey notes that what is translated here as 'on such a pilgrimage' is *cetiya-cārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā*, lit. 'wandering on a journey (*cārikaṃ*) to shrines *(cetiya-*) (personal e-mail communication, 2 December 2010).

[24] Quoted from Tarthang Tulku (1994: 4-5); his translation.

significance. This is relevant to what people believe regarding to Shikoku sites, as will be shown later.

King Aśoka, who ruled much of India ca. 268-239 (Harvey, 1990: 75), was very much responsible for popularising Buddhist pilgrimages; he was the third king of the Mauryan dynasty, the grandson of Candragupta, and the son of Bindusāra. After feeling remorse for his bloody conquest of the Kaliṅga region in the ninth year of his reign, he became a devoted Buddhist, and helped spread Buddhism throughout India**,** to Ceylon, to a part of Southeast Asia and to some parts of Western Asia. He conducted several pilgrimages to the above mentioned holy sites, and erected commemorative memorials; for example, at Lumbinī, he erected *stūpa*s and a stone pillar with the statue of a horse on top of it, inscribing on it that 'this is the birthplace of the Buddha'. Over time, the location of this place became forgotten, and it was not until 1896, that a German archaeologist found a broken part of this pillar, arguing, based on these inscriptions, that this was Lumbinī[25].

In China, there are several Buddhist pilgrimage sites, for example sacred mountains have been important destinations for devoted pilgrims. Joseph Edkins wrote in his *Chinese Buddhism*[26] that every year, in April and October, a group would set out from Peking to the pilgrimage place of Miau-feng shan, which took four to five days, and in this book's chapter sixteen 'Buddhist Processions, Associations, Pilgrimages, and Ceremonies for the Dead' he observed:

> The worship consists of bowings, kneelings, head-knockings, burning incense, and offering of money to the attendant priest…The chief divinity is Pi-hia Yuen-chiün, a Tauist personage, but the temple is cared for by Buddhist priests. It is placed among the mountains to the north west of Peking… On one occasion I passed a [27 year-old] pilgrim going from Peking to Miau-feng shan to fulfil a vow... He had been ill, and while ill had vowed to walk in chains to the temple and back.... The prayers of the priest must have their effect. The chanting… cannot fail to bring happiness. (2009: 271-272).

Summits of mountains seem to have been especially associated with the spiritual, and Martin Gray explains that originally these were believed to be like pillars, supporting

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[25] Things are not as straight-forward though, as with anything that stretches so far back into history: there is dispute over which of two modern places is the site of Lumbinī.

[26] Originally 1893, published by Evinity Publishing digitally though Amazon's Kindle service: 2009; retrieved 1 June 2011: http://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/cbu/cbu21.htm

heaven so that it would not fall down on earth. Later, the ruler Shun (2255-2206 BCE) made pilgrimage to make offerings at summits of mountains, and it…

> is interesting to note that the Chinese phrase for pilgrimage - *ch' ao-shan chin-hsiang* - means 'paying one's respect to a mountain'… Like Taoist hermits, the Buddhist monks favored quiet mountains and deep forests for their meditative practices. Small hermitages and later great monastic complexes sprung up at many peaks (some previously held sacred by the Taoists) and over the centuries the Buddhists began to regard four peaks as having primary sanctity:
> Pu Tuo Shan, Buddhist mountain of the east, Zhejiang province, 284 meters. Sacred to Kuan-Yin[27], the Bodhisattva of Compassion.
> Wu Tai Shan, Buddhist mountain of the north, Shanxi province, 3061 meters. Sacred to Manjushri,[28] the Bodhisattva of Wisdom.
> Emei Shan, Buddhist mountain of the west, Sichuan province, 3099 meters. Sacred to Samantabhadra[29], the Bodhisattva of Benevolent Action."
> Jiu Hua Shan, Buddhist mountain of the south, Anhui province, 1341 meters. Sacred to Kshitigarbha[30], the Bodhisattva of Salvation.
> Each of the Buddhist sacred mountains is considered to be the dwelling place of a Bodhisattva. (Gray, 2011: URL).

More on pilgrimage in Chinese Buddhism can be found in Susan Naquin and Cün-Fang Yü's *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China,* 1992.

In Indonesia, Borobudur, in the city of Magelang, is a massive and famous ninth-century Buddhist monument. In Nepal, Boudhanath, with its famous large *stūpa*, is the holiest Buddhist site in the city of Kathmandu. In South Korea, the 'Sambosa', the 'Three Jewel Temples', are the three principal Buddhist temples in Korea, with each representing one of the Three Jewels of Buddhism: the temple Tongdosa represents the Buddha, Haeinsa represents the *Dharma*, Songgwangsa represents the *Saṅgha*.

In Japan, there are many pilgrimages. For example, particular mountains are regarded as 'sacred' sites (such as Mt. Fuji, Mt. Tateyama, and Mt. Haku, which are

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[27] Kannon *Bosatsu* (Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*). Also venerated in 30 pilgrimage temples in Shikoku.

[28] Monju *Bosatsu* (Maňjuśrī *Bodhisattva).*Also venerated in one pilgrimage temple in Shikoku.

[29] Fugen Bosatsu (Samantabhadra Bodhisattva). Not enshrined in the Shikoku pilgrimage.

[30] Jizō *Bosatsu* (Kşitigarbha *Bodhisattva*). Also venerated in six pilgrimage temples in Shikoku.

named *sanreizan*[31], literally 'three spirit mountains'; *Senkkadera o meguru*, 2009: URL).

Plate 3: A *yamabushi*, mountain ascetic, blowing his *horagai*-'horn' for religious practice in front of the main hall[32] of the temple #60, Yokomine-ji (*sekisho-dera*[33] and *nansho*[34]), which is located on Mt. Ishizuchi, which is regarded as a particularly 'sacred' mountain in Shikoku; photograph taken on 9 December 2009

In Shikoku, too, mountain ascetics, *yamabushi,* prefer isolated places to train to develop spiritual powers. According to the temple legends, Shikoku pilgrimage temple #24, Hotsumisaki-ji, was famous for being used by mountain ascetics, and temples #47, Yasaka-ji, #60, Yokomine-ji (see above plate), #64, Maegami-ji, and #85, Yakuri-ji, had originally been used by *yamabushi* (and are still used by some for worship and training)[35]. This will be an aspect of 'death and pilgrimage' below.

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[31] 三霊山.

[32] 本堂, *hon-dō.*

[33] 関所寺, 'Spiritual control-station' temple.

[34] 難所. A temple that is particularly difficult to reach, such as at high elevation, and as such said to be good for religious practice.

[35] As a side-note, Gorai Shigeru explains that many temples of the Shikoku pilgrimage have been used by the Shugendō-religion as the ocean can be seen from them; he uses the term *umi no shugendō, Ocean-Shugendō* (2009: 11). He further argues that to pray at the ocean or to pray to the ocean gods was the first religious practice of someone engaging in the Shikoku pilgrimage (2009: 13), and he gives the example of the very long walk along the beach between Cape Muroto (temple #24, Hotsumisaki-ji) and Cape Ashizuri (#38, Kongōfuku-ji) (2009: 16). During my fifth pilgrimage, my fieldwork observation showed that the ocean could only be be seen from

Rev. Nagasaki Shōkyō, head priest of pilgrimage temple #38, told me[36], that this place, too, had originally been used by *yamabushi* for their ascetic practice.

All in all, Ishihara Daidō lists in the *Zenkoku reijō junpai jiten* ('Dictionary of the pilgrimages in all-Japan', 1977) as many as 181 pilgrimage routes in Japan[37]. Next to the *Shikoku 88-Temple Pilgrimag*e (*Shikoku hachijūhakkasho junrei)*, *the Saigoku 33 Kannon Pilgrimage* (*Saigoku-sanjūsan-kannon junrei*) is also very popular, including 33 temples in West Japan which have the statues of Kannon *Bosatsu* enshrined (11 in Kyōto, 6 in Shiga, 5 in Osaka, 4 in Nara, 3 in Wakayama, 3 in Hyogo, and 1 in Gifu). The Bandō (Kantō) 33-temple pilgrimage is considered another important Kannon-pilgrimage, as is the *Chichibu 34-Kannon Pilgrimage* (*Chichibu-sanjūyon-kannon junrei*) in Saitama to 34 sites sacred to Kannon. All three pilgrimages combined make 100 sites to visit and venerate Kannon *Bosatsu*[38]. Faith in Kannon also resulted

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two temples, which were originally regarded as *nansho*: #27 and #65, but not from any other, so this might speak counter to Gorai's theory. However, #45, Iwaya-ji, has as its *sangō* (*mountain name*) 海岸山, *kaiganzan*, *Seashore-mountain,* so a connection to the ocean is somehow existing. Regarding directions, my research found that many of the temples face south, and further research is needed on the possible significance of this. Pussel (2010a) started looking into this.

[36] When I stayed there on 6 December 2009.

[37] These are as follows (the number of pilgrimage routes in a particular area is given in brackets). These include mostly Buddhist temples, but also Shinto shrines, for example, the *shin Shikoku mandara junrei* consists of 81 temples and 7 shrines, making it have a total of 88 sites. See map 3 for the various areas of Japan (such as Kantō, Chūbu, etc.).

In terms of the sacred focus of the routes and sites, these are:

- Kobo Daishi *reijō* (including 88 temples, based on the Shikoku pilgrimage): 'The' Shikoko 88-temple pilgrimage (1), Kantō (8), Chūbu (7), Kansai/Chūgoku (5), Shikoku/excluding 'the' 88-temple pilgrimage) (5) (such as *bekkaku junrei*, *shin Shikoku mandara junrei*), Islands of Shikoku, such as Awajishima, Kojima (9) = 35 total
- 33-Kannon *reijō*: Saikoku (1), Bandō (1), Chichibu (1), Hokkaidō (10), Kantō (14), Chūbu (8), Kansai (13), Chūgoku (9), Shikoku/Kyūshū (7) = 64 total
- Fudō *Myōō reijō*:13
- Yakushi *Nyorai reijō*: 12
- Jizō *Bosatsu reijō*: 9
- 13-*Butsu reijō*: 10
- 12-shi *reijō* (the twelve oriental zodiac signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar): 3
- Shichifukujin *Reijō* (Seven Gods of Good Fortune, often centred on Buddhist temples): Hokkaidō (4), Kantō (29), Tokyo (20), Chūbu (19), Kansai (22), Chugoko/Shikoku/Kyūshū (16) = 38 total
- Tokubetsuna *reijō* (special pilgrimages, such as relating to Hōnen Shonin Junrei, Shinran, Shōtoku Taishi, Koyasan Nagamine *reijō*, Dōgen Zenji's 32 temples, but also Shingon 18 *honzan* (18 head temples of the branches of Shingon-shū): 17

= Grand total: 181 pilgrimages in Japan.

[38] Yoshiko K. Dykstra explains that "The name Kannon literaly means "to hear the sounds of the prayers of the world"; in Japan, the compassionate Kannon… acts to free all sentient beings from their sufferings… Stories about the benefits and favors obtained through devotion to Kannon are [firstly found]… in the literature of the Heian [period] (794-1185)" (in Tanabe (ed.), 1999: 117).

in pilgrimages routes in China, but these did not evolve into the form as found in Japan (Hoshino, 1997: 287; see also Mark MacWilliams, 1997: 378). With all of these Japanese pilgrimages, one had to visit all places[39], which are all regarded as 'equal' (notwithstanding the order visited), to call it 'completed'[40] . I found that Shikoku pilgrims have an interest in other Japanese pilgrimages, too. Those quoted here were part of groups met at temples #38[41] and #75[42]. The first example, a woman at temple #38 (who did the pilgrimage a second time; the first time she had been using a taxi with a friend, and now she was walking it with her husband), told me that she has an interest in other multiple-site pilgrimages in Japan:

> You know, there are also the 33 Kannon-Temples in Hokkaidō. I've been to the Bandō 33-Kannon Temples, too…Saigoku. I would love to go to Saigoku, too.

And at temple #75, a man explained to me that Buddhism is alive only at this pilgrimage in Shikoku; Shikoku has many repeaters like him, whereas in his opinion people do the other pilgrimages only once. The reason for this, he thinks, is that the Shikoku one can be walked, whereas the others are usually driven. [Saigoku and Shikoku are actually both over 1,000 km long (Hoshino, 1997: 285), so most people do go round it by car, although some walk it]:

> You see, Buddhism is alive only here. It's active here. There's also the Saigoku thirty-three temple pilgrimage but people only do that once… But many people repeatedly come back to Shikoku many times like me. It's not the same if you're driving. People are actually walking to do the pilgrimage. That's what I mean by a religion being active. It's probably because this is an island and it has its own culture.[43]

Well, to put it briefly, the Shikoku pilgrimage is widely regarded as one of, if not the,

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[39] Or, I might add, is free to visit even more, such as *bekkaku* (see note 19 on page 28) and *bangai* (see note 124 on page 96) and Shrines in the case of Shikoku.

[40] Whereas in European pilgrimages, such as Santiago de Compostela, places on the journey may have been left out, as long as the final goal, which was regarded as most important, was reached (Hoshino, 1997: 280).

[41] On 29 October 2010.

[42] On 24 October 1010.

[43] あのね、仏教が生きてる仏教はここだけですよ。現役で。現役で。要は現役でっていうか、西国三十三ヶ所もありますけども、あれもだいたい１回どまりです、みんな。。。この四国遍路はリピーターが多いんですよ。何回も、このわ、わしみたいに、は、んようけに、何回も来る人が多いんですよ。これ車でもおんなじじゃない。うん。実際に歩いてる人もいるがでしょう。そういう意味でね、そういう宗教が生きてるとこなのよ、唯一。これ島国が、だからでしょう。あと、ずっとえ、昔からの伝統っていうのがあって。

most prominent pilgrimage centred on Buddhist temples in Japan.

The German News Agency N-TV sees pilgrimages as “Pilgern nicht als eine Art beliebte Freizeitbeschäftigung…, sondern als religiösen Akt” (Pilgrimage [is] not to be seen as a kind of popular leisure time activity, but as a religious act) (N-TV, 2010: URL). But can one make a distinction between ‘sacred religious’ act and ‘profane leisure time’? What are ‘religion’ and ‘religious activities’ then, particularly in the contemporary pilgrimage context, in particular in Japan? These are some of the issues that will be analysed below.

Clive Ruggles, Emeritus Professor of Archaeoastronomy at the University of Leicester, in his work, *Ancient Astronomy, an encyclopaedia of cosmology and related myths*, writes that pilgrimages often represent a break away from familiar places and have been practised even in the past, even in prehistory; the participant, he states, usually perceived the need to visit a particular place and undertake one or more specific acts of worship there (2005: 334), and for any place to become the focus of a pilgrimage, it must be seen as being exceptional in some way, and must also include some form of religious practices conducted there, because not any place that attracts many visitors would qualify as a pilgrimage site, such as, say, market places, and he summarizes: pilgrimages are “journeys in search of spiritual fulfilment” (333).

Simon Coleman and John Elsner show in their *Pilgrimage – Past and Present in the World Religions* (1995), that pilgrimages in the various world religions have, although their practices and experiences differ, many common structures and features. Summarizing pilgrimages, they write that they not only serve some spiritual quest or fulfilment, or provide worldly benefits, or travel and touristic needs, but are a means to break from common behaviour: “in a society based on feudal economic and political structures, it [the pilgrimage] could provide an opportunity not only to break the bounds of one’s immediate locality but also the constraints of everyday behaviour” (1995: 111). Victor and Edith Turner (1978), in their *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, show the breaking of everyday bounds and contraints as fasciliating these *communitas*. They describe pilgrimage systems as more:

> 'liminoid' (… not conceptualized as a religious routine) than 'liminal' (… a religious processional structure…), the latter being… embodied in the… tribal or early agrarian society's annual ecological and social structural round, and are obligatory for all. Liminoid phenomena,… prevail in societies of greater scale and complexity, and tend to be generated by the voluntary activity of individuals during their free time (1978: 231).

Here one encounters *communitas*, which shows humility, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship (250), in other words: a world of anti-structure, a time that is outside the everyday life, experiencing a feeling of group-belonging with other pilgrims, what Coleman and Elsner define as "temporary 'social deaths'" (1995: 201). *Communitas* involves "an intensive feeling of sharing, spontaneity and togetherness, free from inequity, convention and status distinctions" (Alan Aldridge, 2007, *Religion in the Contemporary World*: 215-216).

Nevertheless, this thesis shows that the Shikoku pilgrimage is much controlled, structured and conceptualized, so it is not 'liminoid' as defined by Turner and Turner. But still, pilgrims experience a feeling of consensus and sharing and group-belonging, in other word *communitas*, which is, then, liminal; however, the Shikoku pilgrimage is not 'obligatory for all', or done at a set time. Furthermore, not all pilgrims are the same: Shikoku pilgrims clearly distinguish ranks, hierarchy, and status (such as by a red *kongō-stick*, signalling that the carrier is a *sendatsu*, or the colour of the *osame-fuda* paper-slips, for example, red is used by a pilgrim who has done the pilgrimage between 7 and 24 times) and so not all are equal and sharing the same experience. It is interesting to see how Shikoku pilgrims on the one hand share the same experience (bus-groups sleeping in the same rooms, wearing the same clothes, conducting the same rituals), but at the same time are distinguished by hierarchy (different garbs, different colours of *osame-fuda*, different hats), some leading the rituals and being closer to the abbot or temple (such as a *sendatsu*) while others are following, thus having different experiences at the same time.

John Eade and Miachael Sallnow take the following standpoint:

> Pilgrimage is above all an area for competing religious and secular discourses, for both the official co-optation and non-official recovery of religious meanings, for conflict between orthodoxies, sects and confessional groups, for drivers towards consensus and communitas, *and* for counter-

> movements towards separateness and division. The essential heterogeneity of the pilgrimage process, which is marginalized or suppressed in the earlier, deterministic models… and those who adapted a Turnerian paradigm, is here pushed centre-stage, rendered problematic… we should deconstruct the very category of 'pilgrimage' into historically and culturally specific behaviours and meanings. For, if one can no longer take for granted the meaning of a pilgrimage for its participants, one can no longer take for granted a uniform definition of the phenomenon of 'pilgrimage' either (2000: xii-xiii).

I agree in so far that in something as complex as the Shikoku pilgrimage, general theories of pilgrimages can only serve as a framework. But, this thesis will show that one can find the meaning that the Shikoku pilgrimage has for its participants, if one carefully applies ethnographic methodology and contextual analysis – then, a definition of the Shikoku pilgrimage is possible, but it will include many layers: It will, for example, be found that the Shikoku pilgrimage provides for different 'world' experiences in many different ways, and that it does contribute significantly to the well-being of all of its various participants.

On pilgrimage in modern societies Coleman and Elsner say that modern forms of travel and media coverage have led to an increase in pilgrims (1995: 213), and, if one accepts the Durkheimian 'sacred' as "embodiment and representation of social ideals… [pilgrimage] is taking on new forms that go far beyond standard religious practice" (214)[44]. They find that tourism, and in particular visits to museums, are much like pilgrimages (213-220). Living in Tokyo, I am reminded of the famous Ginza-shopping district. The recent opening of a luxury boutique was reported in the news on television, showing people, who had come from near and far, queuing up already the night before, so that they could buy a new bag from their favourite brand when the shop opened the next morning. The commentator said something on the lines of: 'These people are devoted to their ABC-brand; it is their meaning of life, and they wouldn't accept using any other brand: The newly-opened Ginza shop is surely the ultimate Mecca for all those that love this brand.' This made me think: could this not be regarded as a modern pilgrimage activity and destination? Could a devoted visit to engage in shopping for one's favourite designer brand at a particular

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[44] But they are quick to note that concept of 'sacred' is even more problematic than that of 'pilgrimage' (230, note 37).

boutique in Ginza not be seen as a ‘break-away from the constraints of everyday behaviour’, and, as such, as a ‘religious’ act? They are usually spectacularly designed, with the objects artistically placed, the gorgeous interior a perfectly idealised evocation of the brand’s image, giving the shopper a certain identity within society, and each season a new collection is showcased, so the visit there becomes ritual: the end-point of the journey is the new item or collection. But this might not be more of a breakaway than going to the theatre, so do such parallels work? Coleman and Elsner refer to a work by Reader and Walter[45] that shows that “non-religious activities such as visits to war graves, to the tombs of dead pop stars *and even to Anfield football ground* [Liverpool; italics by me] [46] can take on some of the features of the pilgrimage” (Coleman and Elsner, 1995: 230, note 41).

Can visiting Elvis’ grave have some features in common with the Shikoku pilgrimage? Before looking at this in the Japanese context, it is helpful to note a point made by Gavid Flood. In his book *Beyond Phenomenology. Rethinking the Study of Religion* (1999), Flood gives an integrative critique of phenomenology, employed in the area of Religious Studies (throughout, esp. 91-116), and he argues for “… the recognition of the centrality of narrative in any research programme, and… that all research programmes are dialogical, constructed in interaction between self and ‘data’ or subjects of research” (15). This is important, as this thesis quests to find out what ‘goes on in pilgrims’ heads’, and seeks to understand how they experience things, and one way of acquiring information is by interacting with my informants, and listening to what they say. Flood argues that phenomenology alone is inadequate in constructing understanding, as it is difficult to describe religious experiences as-they-are in language, and he concludes that Religious Studies must include discourse about culture, society… and be “sensitive to difference and the many layers of cultural meaning” (235). The question here, as I see it, is how much or little is language limiting or actually able to describe something without interpreting or judging? Great care needs to be taken when employing language to describe the many facets of this pilgrimage; in other words, what people say needs to

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[45] Reader, Ian and Walter, Tony (eds.), 1993, *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[46] A real-life example illustrates this: my friend (a school-teacher and a Shikoku pilgrim with a B.A. thesis on the Shikoku pilgrimage), is such a Liverpool/Steve Gerrard-fan, that she states in her Facebook-site: “Religious View: Gerrardism!; Location: Road to Anfield!!!!!” (exclamation marks in original). I confirm that she indeed means this seriously.

be understood in the context of their culture and society – this is what this thesis regards as necessary to implement throughout.

For example, the Japanese term for 'Shikoku 88-Temple Pilgrimage' is *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho junrei*[47]. *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho* means *Shikoku 88 places*, and *junrei* can be translated as *pilgrimage* in English. However, *jun* derives from *junban ni mawaru*, *to circumambulate in an order*, but in the case of Shikoku, this does not necessarily mean in numerical order, as long as one visits all 88 temples. *Pai* as in *junrei* or *junpai*[48] (another term similar to *junrei*) is found in *ogamu*[49]*,* so: *ogamu no tame ni (otera/jinja) ni iku. Shikoku hachijūhakkasho junrei* could be translated as *Shikoku 88-temple-pilgrimage*, but one should consider that the person, *henro*[50], who is engaging in it, is *ogamu tame ni iku*: in other words, that he/she is visiting the 88 temples to do *ogamu* there. And this *ogamu* could simply be translated as *to pray* (the Christian equivalent would be *inoru*[51]: to pray at a church), but I would go one step further and translate it, and therefore the act of doing this pilgrimage, as: *engaging in acts that try to form a connection to something that is 'sacred' or divine in some sense.* What this 'sacred' or 'special' in Japanese religiosity means, will be analysed in this thesis.

Peter Jan Margry (ed.), in *Shrines and Pilgrimage in the Modern World. New Itineraries into the Sacred* (2008) summarizes recent research in pilgrimage as follows:

> A pilgrimage must therefore entail interaction between the sacred or the religious, an element of personal transition, and the existence of a cult object… there is thus an essential distinction between pilgrimage and 'secular pilgrimage' (such as recreational travel, etc.) in that pilgrimage has a transformative potential to give meaning to life, healing, etc. (36), … If one assumes that the religious dimension or motivation is a constitutive element of pilgrimage, then the next question is whether the 'secular,' modern and non-confessional shrines and pilgrimages, outside the traditional… pilgrimage culture, do in fact have a religious dimension (30)… [Recent ethnographic research shows] that powerful new sacred spaces come into being at locations where the visitors can cope with the

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[47] 四国八十八ヶ所巡礼.

[48] 巡拝.

[49] 拝む.

[50] へんろ or 遍路.

[51] 祈る.

> traumatic loss of a venerated person – an icon, idol, role model, hero, or ‘saint’ – or where this loss is commemorated, such as at graves and roadside memorials. The value and significance of these places are then raised from the profane/secular level to a more transcendent level, so that the visit acquires a religious or sacred dimension and can then be regarded as pilgrimage. The religiosity and rituality exhibited there by people in fact mark them as pilgrims in the ‘classic’ sense, and therefore their visits to these places are essentially different in function and meaning from those of others who go there for non-religious reasons. (327)

As such, to round up the above paragraphs, Elvis Presley, also known as the ‘King of Rock’n’Roll’, or Steven Gerrard of Liverpool’s Premier League-football-club are famous and important, but the Shikoku *junrei* differs from, say, visiting Elvis’ grave at Graceland, or a theatre, museum, or a brand-shop in Ginza: a visit to these special places, or a holiday to some distant and exotic place outside of the daily routine, does *not*, *in itself*, form a significant connection to something ‘sacred’ or ‘religious’ or ‘divine’, *unless that person explicitly seeks to do so*.

‘Religion’ and ‘religious’ in the contemporary world

But what is ‘religion’ and ‘religious’ in the contemporary world? To answer this, one would first need to clarify what these two terms mean, also especially with particular reference to Japan, and, by doing so, locate this thesis within the current debates and discussions in the discipline of Religious Studies. Then we can understand better what the meaning this Shikoku pilgrimage has for contemporary pilgrims, and what role Kōbō Daishi has in their understanding of it. Included here should also be a discussion about a researcher’s attitude to the content of faith: for example, if a pilgrim says that Kōbō Daishi is alive during the pilgrimage, and that they walk together with him, then one would better accept their words as an expression of their belief, attitude, and feeling[52]. The same can be said about the related stories and legends, and the meaning that these have for those involved, such as that concerning Emon Saburō, who is said to have been searching for Kōbō Daishi to ask for forgiveness, and thus became the first pilgrim in the traditional understanding. Even

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[52] But of course some might just trot this out as what pilgrims are expected to say. So to further investigate this, in-depth interactions were conducted, which produced ‘rich’ data for a thorough understanding of what ‘goes on’ in the informants’ heads.

if an academic analysis reveals that this cannot *de facto* have happened, belief in it is a fascinating aspect of religious practice, and one would have to accept this notion as part of the belief-world of many pilgrims. One can also see this in, for example, the 'holy water' (believed to be consecrated by Kōbō Daishi) for the cure of illnesses, available at pilgrimage temple #22, Byōdō-ji[53].

Contemporary notions of 'religion' and 'religious' need to be carefully looked at, and the role that 'religion' plays in modern society: firstly in general terms, and then, particularly, in the context of Japanese religiosity and religious practice in order to be able to analyse the understanding of contemporary pilgrims of the Shikoku pilgrimage. For this, one better deconstruct one's notion (and assumption) of 'religion' first, otherwise this can be misleading. One should also critically reflect upon the Durkheimian (see below) dichotomy of sacred and profane, other-worldly and this-worldly. Peter Berger explains that Thomas Luckmann even concluded that *everything* genuinely human is religious, and the only non-religious aspects of human existence are those that man has in common with animals (in his book *Das Problem der modernen Gesellschaft*, 1963, cited in: Berger: *The Sacred Canopy*, 1967: 166-7).

Moreover, 'meaning' in religion is a complex and tricky term, and needs exploration. So does the way pilgrimage and worship reinforce relations between the living and the dead, which is of particular importance in Japan, and of the pilgrimage as 'time-out' from normality, and the idea of the 'merit' or 'benefit' of various practices. These aspects will be addressed accordingly in this thesis.

Mentioned above was the French writer Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), who can be regarded as one of the founding fathers of modern social science, along with the Germans Karl Marx (1818-1883), Georg Simmel (1858-1918), Max Weber (1864-1920), and Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923). Gordon Lynch, in his *The New Spirituality. An Introduction to Progressive Belief in the Twenty-First Century*, characterizes Durkheim's studies as "arguably… [the] most important analyses of the new form of religion in modern society" (2007: 102). Of particular interest for this thesis is

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[53] Healing through 'holy' water reminds one of Lourdes in France, which is also a pilgrimage site. See, for example, Suzanne Kaufman's *Consuming Visions. Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine* (2005) on 'miracle' cure and faith.

Durkheim's work *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1915): an analysis of religion as an expression of society, in which he defined religion and religious phenomena, and clarified his view that religion is inevitable when people live together as a group, and that religion is therefore a communal experience, and a means to hold a society together:

> We now see the real reason why the gods cannot do without their worshippers any more than these can do without their gods; it is because society, of which the gods are only a symbolic expression, cannot do without individuals any more than these can do without society[54] (Durkheim, 1915: 47).

And he summarizes his view about religion as follows:

> *A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite in one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them* (1915: 47; emphasis in original).

As suggested above, one might better understand 'religion' and 'religious' if one critically reflects upon the Durkheimian dichotomy of sacred (the realm of the extraordinary and the transcendent) and profane (the realm of everyday activities), other-worldly and this-worldly as the base of religion, particularly, for this thesis, in the context of Japanese religiosity and religious practice.

In note 37 on page 38, 181 pilgrimage routes in Japan were listed, which were grouped by the sacred focus that they have. So there are two related, but not identical questions here: a) Does the Shikoku pilgrimage have certain sacred focuses? Answer, as it will be shown later: yes, it does, for anyone who visits the temples and does rituals there; b) do all those who do the pilgrimage do it for reasons that might be called 'religious'? Answer: this is what needs to be discussed in the following. As one of the many examples given in this thesis, a Japanese woman told me that she is doing the Shikoku pilgrimage for painting water colour pictures of the temples and pilgrims: is this a 'religious' reason, or could this be seen as an example of someone doing it for a 'non-religious' reason, or how should one understand this, in the context of the Japanese society and culture?

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[54] This quote makes the sacred as 'society, writ large'. This is quite a reductionist statement – one can accept the social aspect of religion without going so far.

According to Durkheim, one was (at least until his times, i.e. beginning of the 20th century) defined by belonging to a particular church, which held a direct link to belonging to the state (and a state might very well force its people into a particular church[55]). In Japanese history, religious schools have often had a close relationship with the state (though different schools were included in this). This is no longer true: people pursue their own, individual happiness, or that of their family, and all the people I know, rather define themselves through belonging to a certain secular group (be it, for example, a political party, a lover of a designer brand (as in the Ginza-example above), or group of admirers of a particular manga-character), than a certain church). This is even more true in Japan. For many contemporary people (as seen in the drop of membership[56]), membership in a certain 'church' is not much relevant. And even those who define themselves through belonging to a certain school, are members by individual choice and not force[57]. While it is true that, in Japan, people usually belong to families that have a traditional affiliation with a certain Buddhist school – it varies considerably whether or not they still value this link.

So, the Durkheim analysis of religion as an expression of society is not applicable now, or rather, it is, but in an amended way, as there is still a link between society, individual and religion. But, I understand him to mean that society is unifying its members into a single religion. It is true that in Japan, people have generally always drawn on both Buddhism and Shinto (though one might argue that this was a single

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[55] Of course, in the past there have always been people who have found their place outside the established church, but it would have been difficult to be straightforward about this.

[56] See, for example, 'Researchers report big drop in Christian adherence in UK', *Church Times*, Issue 7657, 18 December 2009. However, Lynch states that as of 2005, research shows that "the United States of America… remains a deeply Christianized culture" (2007: 2). Aldridge informs that in Canada, the church faces a crisis in membership and participation (2007: 148). Reid in Hinnells (ed.) (1997), for Japan, shows a steady number of people stating they belong to Shinto 89.4% in 1953 and 85.6% in 1978, and Buddhism rising from 54.9% to 76.4% in those years. These numbers add to more than 100%, as many Japanese have multiple affiliations. (1997: 491-3, 499), and Reader (1991: 9) confirms that counting the numbers is very difficult. Harvey calculates, based on numbers provided by Hinnells and Reader: "Taking the average of 32% (… religious belief) and 70% (… religious feeling), then 51% of the [Japanese] population is reasonably religious. If we then take 80% (… those with home shrines who have Buddhist ones) as the proportion of these that are Buddhist, then for the 2010 population of 127.4m, this gives a figure of 52m 'Buddhists'" (draft of the new edition of his 1990, *An Introduction to Buddhism*).

[57] In my own case, although my German family is Protestant, I am not forced to be 'connected to' or 'saved by' the Christian God against my will: I opt to be Buddhist by free choice, because for me, personally, this is *more meaningful*. Buddhism is not one of the religions that are officially recognised by the German government, but I do not feel that I have to join the Christian faith just in order to 'fit in' if I would live in Germany.

synthesis), which is, in other words, a means to hold the society together. However, in his analysis, he treats individual religiosity as secondary, whereas nowadays, as the above has shown, rather the opposite is the case.

As for studies of religion, Peter Berger (1929–) can be seen as having had much influence on shaping the post-war study of sociology, in particular that of sociological research into religion and the transformation of religion in our modern times, and, on a broader plane but still connected to religion, of the 'social construction of reality' (as one of his book-titles reads). Therefore, his work needs to be studied in order to understand modern forms of 'religion' and 'religious', which are important aspects in this thesis, and the range of deep-seated meaning(s) that lies therein, such as how people construct their knowledge of religion. Linda Woodhead (ed., with Paul Heelas and David Martin) in *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion* (2001)[58], characterise Berger's research as compassionately done from inside as well as outside (2001: 2).

In his book *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Approach* (1963), Berger advises that "social characteristics of… individuals" (1963: 40) must receive at least equal, or even more, treatment than an analysis of their statistics and numbers. For example, in my research for this thesis, I experienced that sometimes informants gave answers that they felt appropriate in their 'role' in society, or as Berger calls it, their place in the 'logic' of society, so the inquirer must go one step further and "look at explanations that are hidden from their own awareness" (40). Therefore, as I understand *Invitation to Sociology*, and as this thesis tries to do, an analysis of the meaning of the pilgrimage for contemporary Shikoku pilgrims, both with regard to statistical numbers and human experiences, is important.

In the work *The Social Construction of Reality*, written by Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966), where the sociology of knowledge is defined, a theatre play is described:

> The transition between realities is marked by the rising and falling of the curtain. As the curtain rises, the spectator is "transported to another world", with its own meanings and an order that may not have much to do with

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[58] A collection of comprehensive essays to introduce his work with particular reference to current issues in Religious Studies.

> everyday life. As the curtain falls, the spectator "returns to reality"… religious experience is rich in producing transitions of this kind... [as it is a producer] of finite provinces of meaning (1966: 25).

Entering "finite provinces of meaning" means turning away from the reality of everyday life: Could something similar not be found in the Shikoku pilgrimage? Clear symbols that signal the start and the end of being in 'another world', in other words, the pilgrimage? As I see it, the Shikoku pilgrimage provides opportunities for dipping into several of these 'other worlds'; for example, this might be sharing the *communitas* with other pilgrims at a *shukubō*, whilst at other times, it is the secluded camping outside[59]. And for some, the entire island of Shikoku is one huge 'sacred' physical landscape. Furthermore, some walking pilgrims get into a particular kind of pilgrimage walking-mode, and also those who experience post-Shikoku depression seem to pine for the different 'world' experienced on the pilgrimage.

Could engaging in the pilgrimage have the meaning of turning away or even fleeing from everyday reality? These are some questions that emerge from the study of *The Social Construction of Reality*. And, another aspect that is raised by this book is how 'knowledge' is constructed in the Shikoku pilgrimage. For this, one needs to look at the position of Kōbō Daishi and the legendary construction of the pilgrimage in the minds of pilgrims. What do local people, temple officials, priests, and fellow pilgrims, tell? For example, locals may not be historically reliable informants; but what they are, is fascinating informants about contemporary understandings of this pilgrimage.

In *The Sacred Canopy. Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (1967), Berger expands on the theory of knowledge from *The Social Construction of Reality,* and he concludes that there is an interaction between society and religion in that society is the product of human subjects and these human subjects are products of society: this, he finds, is not contradictory (3): "Religion is the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established" (25); "social arrangements" (including religion) are structured and distributed by humans engaging in a socialization process (7). For Berger, 'socialization' is the "process by which society transmits its objectivized customs and ideas from one generation to the next". Through socialization, Berger

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[59] The act of camping out is called 野宿, *nojuku*, in pilgrimage terms.

observed, "individuals are taught the objectivized cultural meanings of a society and brought to identify with these meanings" (Gary Dorrien, in: Woodhead et al., 2001: 31). Thus it can be understood, in the context of this thesis, that the people involved construct and transmit meanings of the Shikoku pilgrimage during the course of history (such as through legends and tales), and that pilgrims are taught these meanings and identify with these. Engaging in the pilgrimage is then a form of expressing these meanings embedded in the pilgrimage in the society that made and approves these. For example, Shikoku pilgrims are often given *o-settai*; it will later be analysed if this is a form of transmitted basic moral behaviour as well as a spontaneous expression of 'I approve and respect that you are doing the pilgrimage', or forming links and relationships with locals and outsiders.

How would Berger then himself characterize the modern developments of religion? Modern society and its pluralism "affects the how of religious beliefs, but not necessarily the what" (Berger, in Woodhead et al., 2001: 194). For the Shikoku pilgrimage, this would include, for example, how contemporary pilgrims express their beliefs, how (if at all) they see the role of Kōbō Daishi, what rituals they follow, and also how they conduct the pilgrimage, in other words, to analyse what 'religion' and 'religious activity' means for contemporary pilgrims, who have now a wide choice available to experience and adjust the pilgrimage to their own individual needs, understandings, and circumstances.

To analyse these aspects of pilgrims – what they experience, why and how they act – is an important aspect of this thesis. In the area of contemporary Religious Studies, Ninian Smart (1927-2001), who saw an important role for Phenomenology in the study of religion, has been a shaping figure. In his book *Worldviews. Crosscultural Explorations of Human Beliefs* (third edition 2000; originally 1995), he explains his seven dimensions of religions and Religious Studies: 1) the experiential or emotional, 2) the mythic/narrative, 3) the doctrinal/philosophical, 4) the ethical/legal, 5) the ritual/practical, 6) the social/organizational, and 7) the material. Through an analysis of these, the "modern study of worldviews religions and ideologies… tries to understand what exists in the heads of people. What people believe is an important aspect of reality whether or not what they believe is true" (1-2). He reminds us of the difficulty of describing religions and religious activities as they actually are (13) and warns that we should not be tempted to try to impose our own foreign beliefs and values and judgments. What this thesis will show is that, for example, this-worldly reasons for doing the pilgrimage (such as praying for winning the lottery, as one pilgrim told me) are an integral part of Japanese religion and religiosity: in their interacting with 'religious' places, people and things, Shikoku pilgrims, it seems, are drawing on the perceived power of the 'sacred' to influence the 'profane' world. Also, mingling with 'nature' can be an important part of Japanese religious experience: Some could talk about 'admiring cherry blossoms' or 'walking in the hills', and such engagement with nature can be regarded as a religious experience, and by this I mean an experience of connection to something 'sacred' or 'ultimate'. This thesis gives an example of a pilgrim embracing a tree on plate 41. In other words, 'this-worldly benefits' still depend in some sense of the sacred; there may not be a sharp sacred/profane divide, but there remains a difference.

For Smart, Religious Studies should include Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, History, Archaeology, and other disciplines, and he advises that:

> the explorer [of religions] must come into contact with those people, who… serve… in his or her probings: the archaeologist, who turns up old statues of the Buddha,… the language specialist, who… supplies the key to understanding old scriptures; the art historian, who can trace developments of the way religion was understood visually; and so on.
>
> The explorer of religion can learn much, too, from literature. Thus the novelists of modern times have often managed much more successfully than historians to create living pictures of religion in action.
>
> [It becomes clear that]… the modern study of religion is polymethodic – using the methods and ideas of many overlapping disciplines [because it] cannot be reduced to a single dimension of existence. (2000: 25-7).

Smart then continues to stress the need for open-minded participant-observation: abstract reflection needs to be accompanied by immersing oneself in the experience of the rituals and practice on-site (159, 162), and much can be learned about religion by talking to people: "But we need to ask the right question" (160). Although Smart sees the phenomenological approach, as developed by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), trying to describe experiences as they are, as fit to the area of Religious Studies, he prefers to use the term 'structured empathy' (13). By this he means to try to get a feeling

> of what is inside another person or group of persons… [how they feel or think; and this…] empathy needs to be structured. We have to comprehend the structure of another's world; in general, we have to try to understand the structures of belief inside the head of the believer (13-14).

The example was given above that enjoying a walk under cherry blossoms, or embracing a tree, at least in the Japanese context, might be seen as a 'religious' experience – relevant here are Japanese ideas about striking natural objects being, or being associated with, *kami*, and Hua-yen Buddhist ideas[60] about all of reality as manifestations of the underlying universal, absolute principle (Chinese *li*): all things are equal, inter-dependent, and in complete harmony with each other; something similar is found in the Zen ideas of all as the Buddha-nature (Jp. *busshō*, Skt. *buddhatā*).

Is religion a faith in a higher god, or a supernatural power? Or is it mostly about ritual, or is it about values? Or is it about all of them, as in Smart? Is it *sui generis*[61]? Can it be separated into several categories, or is it beyond what can be intellectually analysed, or explained in language? Timothy Fitzgerald, in *The Ideology of Religious Studies* (2000) criticizes the approach used by Smart (as outlined in his 1989, *The Nature of Religion*):

> In order to identify these things and distinguish them from others, Smart came up with the "dimensions", which they [religions] are all believed to have in various combinations. One problem with the dimensions is that the differences between, say, the ethical, the ritual, and the experiential can seem rather arbitrary. For example, I cannot be clear why a photo of Zen monks… setting out to tidy the grounds of the monastery should be taken to exemplify the "ethical" dimension and not the ritual, experiential, material, or institutional (60).

This is fair enough – but as a point opposing Fitzgerald here, just as one physical object has a location in the vertical and both horizontal dimensions, why cannot one action relate to several dimensions of religion? One also needs to be aware of the

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[60] Brought to Japan in the 8th century and much influencing the Japanese Buddhism; it became the Kegon-school in Japan.

[61] Latin: *of its own kind*, in this context: Religion as seen to be a class by itself; 'religious activities/experiences' then would be something that are a unique category and set apart from 'everyday life'. Such a viewpoint would describe religion explicitly in religious terms and in comparison to other experiences, and as a consequence would isolate its research from embedding it within a broader context.

large context of society as well as the individual factors. That said, I'm not sure Smart used his idea of 'dimensions' of religion in this way.

Alan Aldridge writes in his *Religion in the Contemporary World* (2007): "for Durkheim, religion is essentially social, uniting its adherents into a 'single moral community'… just as, in his study of suicide, he concentrated on suicide rates and refused to consider individual motivation…" (33). Indeed, as Fitzgerald explains: "And if, in the case of Japanese Buddhism, we started with an analytical assumption that it is a soteriological doctrine concerning the liberation of the individual, then we would probably create an artificial entity and understand little about Japan" (2000: 17), because, as I see it too, it is also much about collective identity and group-belonging. Fitzgerald finds "that there is nothing significant that can be said about 'religion' that is non-social" (65); I would agree with him that religion (in general, and specifically in Japan) has a strong social aspect – but I find it too extreme to say it is almost all social. For example, being ordained in the Sōtō-Zen-tradition, I am sure that one could *not* explain everything about Dōgen, his teachings and experiences, simply from his social context.

In Japan, Tokugawa Iemitsu's (1604-1651) shōgunate, the *danka*[62] system was introduced as an effective and powerful tool to control and to bind its people together and unite then in one 'Buddhist' nation. One of the findings of Fitzgerald in his book is that the study of religion must include modern markets and political systems. He mentions that contemporary Buddhism in Maharashtra in West India is on the one hand supporting the "personal quest for salvation, but is on the other hand connected to revolutionary liberation for an underclass oppressed by ritual hierarchy" (2000: 17). The Buddhist *sangha* portrayed in *Burma VJ. Reporting from a Closed Country*, a quasi-documentary by Anders Østergaard (2009), rose up and demonstrated against the leadership of their country in September 2007, taking thousands of civilians with them onto the streets. These two examples are given to illustrate that to fully understand the Shikoku pilgrimage, one must embed it in the large context of historical, economic, cultural, and ideological interrelations – with individual and collective values naturally deeply interwoven in this. An individual's lived 'world' is

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[62] 檀家, temple parishioners. See also Pussel, 2010b: 92-94. Pussel (2009), (2010a) and (2010b) include selected parts of this thesis, combined with further contents, such as personal accounts.

a product of both individual factors and factors from the surrounding culture and society, and the interaction of all of these.

Taking the discussions of this chapter so far into account, it becomes clear that 'religion' is *de facto* more than just a personal, individual experience of 'sacred' versus 'profane'. Individual experience is shaped or at least coloured by collective beliefs and practices, and religion also concerns drawing on the power of the 'sacred' to influence the profane world – people would not seek to bring benefits to their everyday life from relating to special religious places, people and things, unless these were seen to have some special power – 'this-worldly benefits' still depend on some sense of the sacred, surely. As stated before, there may not be a *sharp* sacred/profane divide, but, in my eyes, there remains a difference.

'Religion' and 'religious' in Japan

After having briefly looked at the historical development of the study of religion, especially regarding the sociology of religion, and based on the findings of some of the most dominant figures in this area, it follows naturally to reflect upon what then 'religion' and 'religious activities' are in Japan, before the thesis can analyse contemporary understandings of the Buddhist pilgrimage on Shikoku Island, which will include concepts such as 'religious', faith, 'special', deities, rituals, this-worldly, other-worldly, experiences, communities, objects, stories, values, and thus, on a broader level, many cultural and social aspects.

This means that for this thesis, ethnographic methodology and contextual analysis need to be employed. Only then can we fully grasp what the Shikoku pilgrimage means to its contemporary participants, what values play a role (as, for example, found in *o-settai*), and how it is institutionalized (including the way control and governance is organised and legitimated, for example through local pilgrimage path preservation groups, *sendatsu* and the Reijōkai). So, can we find 'religious' activities in this pilgrimage? What, then, does 'religion' and 'religious' mean in Japan? And is this pilgrimage a Buddhist one? Yes, but is it only a Buddhist one? And what then does 'Buddhism' encompass in Japan?

Buddhism in Japan also includes other cultural and ideological forces, for example ancestor-memorial and economy; these are all inter-related. Can it be said that some kind of 'faith' forms the base of it all? David Reid addresses this in his chapter entitled 'Japanese Religions' on pages 479-513 in *A New Handbook of Living Religions*, edited by John Hinnells (1997):

> Religion is a frequently studied as a matter of personal belief. This is not always possible in Japan, where religious phenomena include many dimensions to which faith is irrelevant. Shinto festivals and Buddhist mortuary rites, for example, are not commonly thought of as part of personal religion. None the less, there are also dimensions where personal belief is essential, as in the majority of sects (Shinto, Buddhist, Christian and others). Yet again, a few sects (mainly Buddhist) place no emphasis whatever on faith, preferring a 'try-it-and-see'-attitude… for the student of Japanese religion… more important is the question of the changing relationships between religious organizations and the state. Throughout most Japanese history, the state has set terms within which such organizations could exist (479).

This thesis agrees with this statement, and it could be said in Ninian Smart's terms, that some aspects of Japanese religion are stronger on some dimensions of religion than on other dimensions.

Reid concludes: "behaviour… [shall] be defined as 'religious', if it expresses a relationship with a divine being or beings, as in Shinto, … Buddhism, Christianity and folk religion, or with a life-transforming ultimate/immanent principle, as in… Buddhism" (479)[63]. This is an important statement, as, bringing this into context with the above discussion; here we have a definition of 'religion' that keeps a link to a 'sacred' in some sense.

Going more into detail than Reid's definition, Earhart finds six recurring themes in Japanese religions, which are (a) the closeness of human beings, gods, and nature; (b) the religious character of the family; (c) the significance of purification, rituals, and charms; (d) the prominence of local festivals and individual cults; (e) the natural bond between religion and the nation; he also states (f) that "the dead are so

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[63] Christianity, which entered Japan in 1549 with Roman-catholic missionaries, might be rather left out in this discussion, because it did "not contribute to the formation of traditional Japanese religion", as H. Byron Earhart argues in *Japanese Religion, Unity and Diversity* (1982: 1).

important that the label of ancestor worship has been applied to Japanese religion" (9), and this thesis finds that 'memorialising the dead', as well as 'family safety and harmony' are a major motives for doing the pilgrimage (1982: throughout). Reader, in his chapter 'Buddhism as a Religion of the Family. Contemporary Images in Sōtō Zen' (in Mullins et al, 1993: 139-156), quotes a poster found at a temple: "The prosperity of the family comes from worshipping the ancestors; let us meet them serenely before the statue of Buddha" (146), and he finds that Buddhism "is inextricably tied to a particularized social and cultural environment in Japan" (154). This thesis agrees with this: Buddhism in Japan can only be understood in its historical, cultural and social context. Still, in order to understand the Shikoku pilgrimage, the fundamental question needs to be answered: how do Japanese people define their 'religiosity'. Jan Swyngedouw, in his chapter 'Religion in Contemporary Japanese Society' (in Mullins et al, 1993: 50), analyses much data and finds "according to all surveys, up to two-thirds of the total population claim to have no religious affiliation" (50), and he gives interesting data from an NHK Broadcasting Corporation survey about the religious consciousness of the Japanese[64]: in contrast to the above two thirds without a personal religious affiliation, around 72% of the respondents stated that religion is needed; throughout all age groups interviewed, an average of around 36% believe in Shinto-*kami*, 43% in Buddhist-*hotoke*, and 54% in a soul existing after death, with the younger generation, aged 10-30, believing in an existence of the soul after death stronger than their grandparents (51-52); ca. 80% had a positive attitude towards charms (*o-mamori*) and oracle-lots (*o-mikuji*); 63% paid attention to lucky/good (*taian*) and unlucky/non-good (*butstmetsu*) days; around 45% of all homes had a *kamidana* (Shinto *kami* shelf) and a *butsudan* (Buddhist altar), 15% only a *kamidana*, 16% only a *butsudan*, and 24% neither of these; and over 50% of those that had both or either one answered that they worshipped at the altar, either daily or sometimes; and visits to the graves (*o-bon* in July/August and *o-higan* at the spring and autumn equinoxes) are conducted by more than 50% of the younger (10s-20s) and up to 100% of the older generation (~70s); *hatsumōde* (New Year's visit to shrines or temples) is done by around 81%, regardless of the age

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[64] For a discussion of the care that needs to be implied when analysing such surveys in Japan see Anderson (1991: 370-1) and Reader (1991c: 373-4). In short, surveys should be combined with interviews and textual analysis in order to get a thorough understanding of the subject matter – as this thesis does. Berger was cited above that not only statistics, but an analysis of the social characteristics of the individuals is at least of equal importance, if not more so.

group, and, last but not least, 65% usually buy a Christmas cake[65] (more so for the younger and less so for the older generation): “surely on a par with grave visits” (55). The above illustrates that ‘being religious’ is not a simple yes-or-no matter in Japan, but there are various religion-related factors – a person’s attitude to different ones of these may vary[66]. Reader explains that the rather secular action (as compared to, say, attending church) of buying a Christmas cake can be regarded as making Christmas as a “new focal point in the round of yearly events” (1991a: 51). Furthermore, it can surely be said that Christian-style weddings account for most wedding-ceremonies in Japan. Therefore, Reader states: “one may be born Shinto, marry Christian and die Buddhist, take part in the *hatsumōde* and *o-bon*” (51). Swyngedouw reads these behavioural patterns as not only showing that the Japanese are likely to conform to a popular custom, but that these habits mean that “[religious] feelings are indeed present” (1993: 56). However, he sees these as often limited to that specific time chosen to receive mainly this-worldly benefits, and “religion does not seem to be needed before these occasions arise or after they have passed… all gods, buddhas, and organizations that represent them are welcome insofar as they fit into and serve this pattern” (61). He concludes that religion in Japan is a way to organise human relationships harmoniously whilst at the same time expressing traditional elements and customs. In response to Swyngedouw, the question here is whether the term ‘religion’ can be meaningfully used in the Japanese context. The Japanese translation is *shūkyō*[67], *shū* meaning school/denomination, and *kyō* meaning teaching/doctrine: a term that came to be commonly used from the nineteenth century on, particularly because of the interaction with Christian missionaries. This is a very doctrine-emphasizing conception of religion – as with the Christian taking of ‘religion’ and ‘belief’ as equivalent. In Smart’s term, this privileges only one dimension of religion, the doctrinal. As such, the term *shūkyō* would imply a Durkheimian separation between profane and sacred, or between this-denomination and that-denomination, but, as the above surveys have found, this is not the case in Japan. The relevant question that emerges from this is: Would then the term ‘religion’ not be a helpful

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[65] For completeness’ sake, I would like to add ‘chicken’, too. During Christmas of 2010, I sent text messages to all my Japanese friends, residing all over Japan, asking them how they experience Christmas, and nearly all answered that they had bought a Christmas cake *and* roasted chicken. It seems that chicken is, or has recently become, as much an integral part of the Japanese Christmas tradition as the cake is.

[66] See also note 56 on page 48, especially Harvey.

[67] 宗教.

concept in Japan, or would we need a more sophisticated concept of ‘religion’ than enshrined in the Christian-influenced ‘*shūkyō’*? ‘Religion’ in Japan very much involves ritual, experiential, material, and institutional aspects, which support the needs for social identity, belonging to a local community, and continuously existing in harmony (with oneself, each other, spirits of ancestors and *kami*). Smart does not see the various dimensions as separate, and Fitzgerald found that much about religion is social; and this is particularly true in Japan (Smart includes a social dimension – though it is only one of seven dimensions – which is mainly about how a religion is itself organised). One might find Durkheim’s kind of analysis right in emphasising the social aspect of religion, though there is not such a sharp sacred/profane distinction in Japan, and the power of the sacred is seen to be available through many avenues, not just a few ‘set apart’ones.

Plate 4: *Ema*-plates inscribed and hung up at Yushima-Tenjin-shrine, Tokyo. The daughter points to her plate, and her wish to successfully pass the entrance examination of her desired university; her mother takes a picture of this; photograph taken on 7 January 2010

There has been a discussion between Reader and Richard Anderson in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, initiated by an article by Reader, entitled ‘Letters to the Gods – The Form and Meaning of Ema’ (1991b: 23-50), followed by a reply by

Anderson ‘What Constitutes Religious Activity? I’ (1991: 369-372), and the reply ‘What Constitutes Religious Activity? II’ by Reader (1991c: 373-376). Anderson concludes his discussion by saying that objects and actions cannot, *per se*, be considered ‘religious’ unless the person who chooses to possess an object or performs an action does so with a ‘religious’ intent or feelings, and that these people are in contemporary Japan in the minority (372). I see a Durkheimian distinction between ‘religious’ versus ‘non-religious’ in this, when he states that most do not do it [buying, inscribing and putting up of *Ema* in temple or Shrine compounds] as a ‘religious’ activity, but as “custom, habit, manners, or life patterns” (369). Anderson’s position is that ‘religious’ intent or feeling is what makes an object or action ‘religious’. However, he leaves no definition or explanation as of what that is, and therefore leaves the question-title of his article unanswered. Reader replies, and this thesis agrees with this: “The point here is that customs, habits, and life patterns *all* play a part in religious behaviour…Indeed, much religious behaviour revolves around these things, and quite where we decide to draw the dividing line and categorize something as ‘religious’ or not is to a great extent a matter of personal interpretation” (375; emphasis by me).

I also agree with Reader that ‘religious activity’ in Japan is an activity that is performed in a religious centre (such as temple or shrine), and using certain forms of ritual behaviour (such as offerings). But, to answer the question ‘what constitutes religious activity?’ it should be added to this definition that, say, mingling with ‘nature’ can also be an important part of Japanese religious experience. Some could talk about ‘admiring cherry blossoms’ or ‘walking in the hills’, and such engagement with nature can be regarded as a ‘spiritual experience’, and embracing of a tree on the pilgrimage path between two temples by a pilgrim could also be regarded as a ‘religious activity’; in other words, ‘religious activity’ in Japan also includes expressing a relationship with a divine being, and nature (which is related to divine beings). So what is it that ritual at a temple and admiring nature outside the temple compound *share*, as ‘religious activity’? It is surely something about connecting to something that is in some sense ‘sacred’ or of ultimate meaning. Perhaps Anderson might here say that this connecting needs to be done consciously and deliberately, but I would disagree and answer that being touched by, say, falling cherry blossoms would not need to be a connection sought deliberately, but could indeed be a spiritual experience. In order to understand this better, one needs to find out what this ‘sacred’ is in Japan. In the context of this thesis, one would need to look at how the people – the Shikoku pilgrims in this case – experience or define their ‘sacred’[68]. As the above has shown, a high number of Japanese do not claim active membership in a religious organisation, yet even if people do not consider themselves as, for example, ‘Buddhist’, they might very well still engage in the pilgrimage, and this means that things that they may in some sense regard as ‘sacred’, or rituals in the presence of ‘sacred things’, are indeed separable from ‘religion’ or being a ‘religious adherent’; this provides fascinating material on how contemporary pilgrims understand the Shikoku pilgrimage. For example, at temple #38[69], a pilgrim told me that he had always been interested in this pilgrimage, but he saw himself as not religious; still, it is a sacred thing[70] to do. Pilgrimage brings out something good in oneself, but only while on Shikoku. As another example, one pilgrim told me at temple #75[71] that it is irrelevant which religion one belongs to if one wants to make the Shikoku pilgrimage (both examples will be analysed later in the thesis (see pages 160-164). Furthermore, I am not doing away with Durkheim’s division of religion being a system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, things set apart and forbidden versus the profane, but one needs to go beyond such a clear-cut division and construct a continuum: this thesis shall clarify what pilgrims deem ‘sacred’, and how they respond to this, why and through what experiences and actions they set things as ‘sacred’; the point here is how people on the ground understand and experience these, and what things or actions there are that are regarded as *very sacred* or *more or less sacred*. So I am deliberately defining ‘sacred’ on a continuum[72]. For example, some of the areas that this thesis addresses will be how and why some ‘spaces’, items, and rituals are regarded as more, or less, ‘sacred’.

So, how do contemporary pilgrims understand and experience this Shikoku pilgrimage? To answer this requires a careful analysis of the processes involved in

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[68] Such a definition would then allow for, say, someone visiting Graceland or a museum where something special is exhibited: this place could very well become ‘sacred’ (and thus the action of visiting there and engaging in some forms of special behaviour there would become a ‘pilgrimage’) if one analyses how that particular person experiences, defines or interprets his or her ‘sacred’, taking into account his or her customs, habits and life patterns.

[69] On 29 October 2010.

[70] He used the term 神妙, *shinmyō*, pointing to serious, full-hearted, dedicated, earnest (pilgrimage) practice.

[71] On 24 October 2010.

[72] See also Taves, 2009: 27.

the pilgrimage: ‘religious’ (in the Japanese context), as well as social and cultural aspects. For this, this research will not only include textual work, but also engage heavily in ethnographic fieldwork; in fact, interviews are the basis of the thesis. To decipher the perceptions and experiences of pilgrims – what and why they believe, why and how they act, and what they experience, are important aspects of this thesis, and by carefully looking at these and more areas, this thesis will also show the dynamics of Japanese religion, and, on an even broader level, bring to light issues that are of concern to the contemporary Japanese.

Chapter 2: Fieldwork and approaches to research: issues, methods and processes

Perspectives in social research: methodology (relating to approaches for this fieldwork) and methods (relating to its sources)

Introduction

The main question of this thesis is how contemporary pilgrims experience and understand the Shikoku pilgrimage. My role in the research was complex: a Buddhist priest, a foreign observer, a pilgrim participant. This raised the question of what my role as a *researcher* should primarily be, and what kind of beliefs and experiences I would bring into the fieldwork. Was I an insider? An outsider? Involved? Detached? Something in between? A mix of it all? Where was I positioned in the hierarchy and status? The tension derived from being an insider or outsider is an important part of any empirical research involving participant observation, as it influences how information is collected from informants in the field and also, potentially, *how material is interpreted* – more about this below. How would my behaviour influence my field work? Would my appearance, such as my (priestly or 'regular') clothes, influence the design, application and outcome of my fieldwork? Was there any danger that any of these aspects could 'contaminate' the research? It became clear that it was an on-going task to critically reflect upon my varying position(s) and methods applied throughout the research, and also that the evaluation of data needed to be accompanied in this thesis by a written account of my experiences, to show the context of the data collected and interviews conducted. I started out planning and conducting a simple quantitative survey. Then, to get 'deeper' data, I needed to broaden and deepen my scope of data gathering, so I took action: several cycles of qualitative research rounds followed, each resulting from building upon the previous round of data gathering. These 'rich' conversations, interviews and follow-up interviews form the primary base of this thesis.

I took 7,965 photographs during my fieldwork, and 73 representative ones have been included in the thesis, and these are also made available on-line in high-resolution for further examination:

> http://www.ryofupussel.org/pictures

These photographs serve two purposes:

1) to illustrate a point further and to provide a visual record of an artefact or a particular location; such as photographs of *osame-fuda*-stacks in front of the basket that they were collected in over many generations at the home of a pilgrim, or the presently painted ‘green line’ on the roadside that helps walking pilgrims;
2) to reveal something of importance for further ethnographic analysis; for example, when I visited (in ‘regular’ clothes) the home of a pilgrim for an in-depth interview (the Ozaki-family in Kōchi), the picture we took of us and his immediate family and his pilgrimage utensils in his living-room reveals much of his attitude towards the Shikoku pilgrimage, our interaction, and also his social context: his family, and his everyday environment that he lives in – which are all important factors to consider when interpreting the interview-data gathered (plate 5). Another photograph (plate 74) of me in priest’s robes collecting data from pilgrims within a temple compound, and their gestures (respectfully straight bodies, and hands folded in *gasshō*[73]) show a different interaction that we have, different ‘roles’ and ‘positions’ maybe, and it needs to be analysed whether this has affected their responses, or rather: what these differences, if there are any, tell us.

A very brief look at perspectives in social research helps understanding which methodology (relating to approaches for this fieldwork) and methods (relating to sources) were implemented in this thesis. Sources are really where methodology turns into methods, such as varieties of informants, how conversations, interviews or brief surveys were conducted, and who was, and was not, keen to talk, and under what circumstances. It is important to reflect upon how we experience, and make meaning of, the world we live in – this connects to the above discussion on ‘religion’

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[73] 合掌. Buddhist sign of salution and reverence by joining the palms of one’s hands.

– and, in relation to this thesis, by what strategies, methods and practices a researcher can find out how contemporary pilgrims construct their understanding of the Shikoku pilgrimage.

Positivism and objectivism

Well-known approaches to social research include the following. *Positivism* is an interpretative attitude to data by applying scientific research methods and the idea of a definable cause and effect to social studies by collecting ‘objective data’, ‘accurate facts’, of the social world and building theories on these; Émile Durkheim could be regarded as belonging to this school of thought, when he is arguing about studies of religion (1915):

> But there is no question of placing at the foundation of the science of religions an idea elaborated after the Cartesian manner, that is to say, a logical concept … constructed simply by force of thought (4).
>
> At the foundation of all systems of beliefs and of all cults there ought necessarily to be a certain number of fundamental representations or conceptions and of ritual attitudes which, in spite of the diversity of forms which they have taken, have the same objective significance and fulfil the same functions everywhere. These are the permanent elements which constitute that which is permanent and human in religion; they form all the objective contents of the idea which is expressed when one speaks of religion in general (5).

Objectivism tries to define some permanent patterns in what we study, and “implies social phenomena… [which] have an existence that is independent or separate from actors” as Alan Byrman states in *Social Research Methods* (2001: 19), or in other words, it seeks to find objective rules which strongly constrain people (thus making them ‘good citizens’ or ‘good employees’ – or indeed ‘good pilgrims’?). However, in any research into social issues, such as this pilgrimage, people, as members of the society, are fundamental to social life, and it would be difficult to separate these, as Tim May explains in his *Social Research: Issues, methods and process* (2001: 9). And, of course, people have a free will (it could be argued, though, that as members of the society, or company, or indeed pilgrimage group, one is expected to behave in a certain way, so there are certain binding or constraining rules, so objectivism would try to find these patterns).

Empiricism

In the same work (1915), Durkheim sharply criticised *empiricism,* which relies on knowledge gathered through experiences, especially sensory perception, as resulting "in irrationalism; perhaps it would even be fitting to designate it by this latter name" (15). An archaeologist friend once told me that he only accepts as real "what he sees with his own eyes, hears with his own ears and touches with his own hands", but I am not so sure about that: I have a colour vision deficiency with difficulty in discriminating red and green hues, so, for example, autumn leaves all appear green to me, without reds in between: this, that there are no red autumn leaves when there are mixed colours, is, for me, a fact: it is beyond doubt (as I have no other experience) my 'reality'. So, empirical experience needs to be critically examined.

Feminism, ethnographic methodology, constructivism and interpretivism

A contemporary example of a *feminist* approach *par excellence* would need to be briefly touched on here: Lynsey Addario (whose photojournalistic work took her around the world, capturing the lives of women in male-dominated societies)[74], as her case illustrates the value of gaining access to a target group, choosing informants carefully, and then building up relationships with them – all of this is of utmost importance for the fieldwork for this thesis, too[75] . What I further learned from her methodology is that one should not separately categorize but try to build bridges between various approaches, and incorporate *all* of those strategies that advance one's research.

Ms Addario, with a degree in international relations and a winner of the 2009 year Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting, reflects on the advantages being a woman in her area of work:

> I think working in the muslim world as a woman is much easier than for a man. As a foreign female journalist you become strangely unisex – having

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[74] Her website (http://www.lynseyaddario.com) showcases her work.

[75] It also illustrates the close affinity between anthropological fieldwork and ethnographic documentary work. See also Bryman, 2001: 427-431 and David Silverman, 2007: 12-15 for a discussion on visual ethnography, and, in particular, the role of visual images in ethnography.

> access to the men as well as the interior lives of women… and often families will invite you into their homes to meet their wives and children and to share a meal. I think this gets a little trickier for male photographers… [as] men outside of the family shouldn't see women uncovered. Also, people underestimate professional women all the time and tend to leave you alone. This is incredibly beneficial[76].

For her fieldwork, of primary importance was building up relationships for in-depth research on-location by being engaged within the target group, as she explained in another recent interview (in Donald Winslow, 2010: 33). The question for the *ethnographic* fieldwork for this thesis is how I, as a researcher, could best get access 'into the lives' of my informants (and, upon reflection after my initial rounds of data gathering, if priestly robes would really be beneficial for such). Addario's work has a connection to this thesis as it not only illustrates that thorough preparation, identifying the 'gate-keepers', and building up relationships with the target group, combined with being open-minded about accepting the unexpected and embracing situations as they 'happen to' evolve on the ground with the informants are important[77], but foremost, that there is 'more' to the world than meets the eyes, or, in other words, that one should go beyond empiricism– as these do not tell us much about 'what goes on' in people's minds – *and ask how individuals perceive the world around them and how they make sense of it*. An ethnographer needs to immerse him- or herself for an extended time within the target group, in order to observe, listen, record, and give a written output of a contextual analysis; in this, he will be more included and interacting in the group of informants that an observer doing participant-observation (Bryman, 2008: 693). This thesis shall especially explore how contemporary participants experience the pilgrimage, and the meaning it holds for them – which would also relate to *constructivism* (which could be regarded as the opposite to objectivism: 'reality', or rather social phenomena, are constantly constructed and reconstructed by the 'social actors', in other words, people). Steven Taylor and Robert Bodgan advise in their work *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*: "When we reduce people's words and actions to statistical equations, we can lose sight of the human side of social life" (1996: 3). This thesis has accumulated

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[76] Interview conducted in May 2007; in:
http://www.enterworldpressphoto.org/editie7/master_class.php?hilow
date of access 14 December 2010.

[77] Of course without the risk in Shikoku that she took in the war zones in Lybia, Afghanistan, Congo, Sierra Leone, or in the most dangerous part of New York during night.

much objective statistical data, and it will become clear, why *collecting data* is important. But *interpretivism* is another key concept that plays a role in this thesis: it tries to understand the subjective meaning of social action, how people interpret the world, and what it means to them. A connection can be made to the above mentioned Berger and Luckman, who tried to understand "social phenomena from the actor's own perspective and examining how the world is experienced" (8) and to Smart's 'structured empathy'. Steiner Kvale, in his *An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing,* sums this approach up clearly and straightforwardly, much in line with how Ms Addario works: "If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them?" (1996: 1). This thesis places much emphasis on looking at how the pilgrims and other participants experience the pilgrimage, and for this, it uses various research strategies and methods for producing *qualitative data* (in my various recordings of conversations held and in-depth interviews conducted), to which the above mentioned *quantitative data collecting* (in my surveys) is supplementary: both methods are implemented in this thesis for a well-rounded research to explain and understand the Shikoku pilgrims.

Qualitative and quantitative research

But, is it really feasible to combine qualitative and quantitative research? Bryman makes a thorough analysis of this question (added to the third edition (2008) of 2001: 604-626). On the one hand the decision to implement a particular research tool or methodology implies a certain commitment to an epistemological position; he gives the example of participant observation, which he sees as contrary to positivism, and in line with interpretivism, which, as he defines it, seeks to "grasp the subjective meaning of social action" (694), but one might find that in the nature of "qualitative and quantitative research… there are areas of overlap and commonality between them" (605). I certainly agree with this, and found that both strategies can be employed to analyse different aspects of the research and therefore to aid and complement each other. Important would be to reflect upon whether either one should be the primary research method, or whether there should be a sequencing of methods implemented. In the case of this thesis, there is a clear sequence of first collecting quantitative data and then producing qualitative data. Quantitative research was implemented to reveal new information (statistical data), but also allowed me to expose certain issues that I felt important. An example here would be to find out whether there are any considerable numbers of walking pilgrims. If there were only, say, one in a thousand pilgrims walking, this would not have too much impact on the pilgrimage overall. It also provides context for the qualitative data gathered, such as, to stay with this example, after establishing the number of recent walking pilgrims, what difficulties do they experience and what do such hardships mean to them? Or, looking at the high costs involved, can one convert 'cash value' into karmic benefit? Or why are some repeating the pilgrimage? All these issues will be addressed in the interviews, and analysed in this thesis.

Validity

A key question is how we handle validity in this thesis's research. By this I mean, how do we know that, say, my interpretations of the data collected in my fieldwork in Shikoku are credible? Also, would I not, simply by my presence (or even in my priestly robes), 'contaminate' the setting (or would I not?)? This issue becomes especially important when my position as outsider and insider will be discussed below, and it also influences the design of my research and the data collection method. This issue of *validity* is one of the aspects that Kathrin Herr and Gary Anderson raise in their *The Action Research Dissertation. A Guide to Students and Faculty* (2005: 50), a book that was helpful in my research because it helped ensure that I continuously viewed issues from different angles whilst reflecting upon my choices before (and after) they were made, and thus supported my research in motivating me to keeping clarity and coherence.

Linguistic aspects and meaning-making in Japan

But, as it was expressed above "If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them?": but gaining access to a target group, choosing informants carefully, and then building up relationships with them, is easier said (pun intended) than done in Japan, using the Japanese language. During my first pilgrimage (1993–94), my Japanese was very much at a beginner's level, as I had arrived in Japan less than a year before (in May 1992) with just the first semester of Japanese Language and Society studies, at the University of Hamburg, Germany, under my belt. Nearly twenty years have passed since my arrival, and I feel blessed that I am able to communicate effectively in most formal and informal situations, which is especially 'tricky' in Japanese. It is important to understand this, in order to function appropriately in a discourse when addressing, say, the head priest of a pilgrimage temple, or answering questions regarding oneself. I have also acquired some understanding of how values, perspectives and feelings are expressed through spoken Japanese – see next paragraph. Whereas at first, I was just happy to understand a few language clues, I feel now confident to use communication techniques not only to sustain, but also to lead or enhance the communication[78], such as keeping it going, or drawing a conversation to the point which interested me, such as: "Why do you do the pilgrimage? What do you experience? What does it mean to you?". Or: "why do you do *o-settai*? What does it mean to you?". Examples of this can be found in the various in-depth interactions conducted (with the Japanese transcriptions and English translations made available on-line)). However, I am also aware that my learning of Japanese is never completed. I am referring here to two of the four macroskills of listening and speaking[79], as these are the ones that are most important here for functioning in observation and participation during fieldwork, as I engaged in conversation and conducted oral interview, and a good use of Japanese helped tremendously in gaining access and building a trustful relationship with my many informants throughout my fieldwork. It also supported a contextual understanding of what meaning is embedded in the language they use, which is crucial to understand when, if at all, a follow-up question or other 'markers' (examples would be '*a-so*' (similar to '*really?*' or '*is that so?*' or '*are you sure about that?*') or a rise or fall in pitch) should be applied, and how 'far' to go (this also includes when to stop the interview). Also, as most interviews and conversations were recorded, this is necessary in the later analysis.

It must also be explained that Japanese makes much use of respectful, neutral and modest or humble words, which even more applies in the area of religion. Exactly

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[78] I am referring to a description of oral interaction abilities as in: Australian Education Council, 1994, ESL Scales, Carlton: Curriculum Council, pp.51 and 122.

[79] The other two macroskills being reading and writing.

this was encountered by Helen Hardcare in her ‘Feminist Fieldwork with Japanese Religious Groups’ (in Bestor, Steinhoff and Bestor, 2003: 71-88), when she initially felt great resistance to using *keigo*, *respectful language*:

> As a feminist, the self-effacement and subordination expressed through honorific language… expected in female speech grated on me for a long time. I hated to even pronounce the answers expected of me as a young woman… to such simple questions as “Will you go?” [to the Shrine] *Hai, mairasete itadakimasu* (Yes, I will be caused-to-be-allowed-to go…).… but language use was also an important aid to me in sorting out the various roles of men and women, young and old… and in understanding the full spectrum of relationships (77)

That is, some nouns and verbs in Japanese show respectfulness and politeness which would be used towards the person one is talking to (or about); neutral words would usually be used when talking about oneself or one’s own family, and some words also have humble or modest equivalents, to even further elevate the status of the person one is talking to, by lowering one’s own[80]. This is an important aspect for anyone doing fieldwork in Japan, as language and etiquette are so much connected. Susanne Culter explains about her fieldwork in Japan about a rural community study and a Tokyo city survey (in Bestor, Steinhoff and Bestor, 2003: 214-247):

> An additional issue is that speech patterns of males and females, as well as of those of various occupational groups, may differ to such a degree that extra preparation and attention is needed. When planning a research project for Japan, one must be aware that the vertical structure of Japanese society is reflected in the language through many levels of formal and informal speech patterns (216)

Meaning-making and how we experience our world in general were issues that were

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[80] For example, いらっしゃいますか, meaning ‘are you going/coming’ or ‘ is he/she in’, is directed at someone in a respectful way (such as a head priest of a pilgrimage temple) by using the verb いらっしゃる, and, on top of that, polite by using the suffix ます. One would not use this for, say, members of one’s own family, but rather 来る, 行く and いる (or even おる), which would also be used for friends, but usually with a more polite ending, i.e. 来ます、行きます、います. An example of a noun would be ‘father’, お父様 (very polite), お父さん (respectful), 父 (neutral/modest – one’s own father). (These are temporary examples, as the Japanese language has naturally developed over time. It would not have been uncommon before the Second World War to use お父様 (or even 父上) は いらっしゃいますか in a very respectful way towards one’s own family. But some people of high cultural status use it even nowadays, for example, children of an お家元, or members of the Japanese Imperial family). The other end of the spectrum would be a text-message (which is close to the spoken language) received on 20 December 2010 from a Japanese friend in Tokyo, female, in her early 30s, inquiring whether I am home right now (it has some more layers of meaning-making, though): 「おーーいっっ！おるんか！？」

already taken up above[81], and these aspects of language are important issues that relate not only to any fieldwork in Japan, but in particular to designing my research approaches for this thesis. In order to access, for example, the head priest of a temple, or gather some information from a pilgrim, one would need to use language appropriate for the situation. It would not have served me well to address, say, a young male pilgrim by using very humble language – it would have set us apart, or at least placed a barrier between us. On the other hand, older pilgrims would better have been addressed more politely. Important here is to use language *appropriately* in the various settings, to get the best results as a researcher, bearing in mind the participants (and their status, so to say), their relationships, and the purpose of the communication or subject matter, as surely asking the head priest to be shown some old and fragile documents would be a different situation than asking a walking pilgrim why he does it – this is simply the way Japanese language works.

And this does not even include regional speech patterns in all four Prefectures of Shikoku – such as *Awa-ben*, the dialect spoken in Tokushima Prefecture –, which are difficult to understand. As a case in point, during my first pilgrimage, when I was not yet functioning well in Japanese, I vividly remember an incident: I was asked by fellow pilgrims after reaching the top of temple #12, Shōsan-ji, which is a *nansho*[82]: "*shinda?*" And I answered "*mada shindenai!*", as I had understood their question as meaning *Are you dead?* Which is why I answered I am not dead yet – much to the delight of the fellow pilgrims. At that time I didn't understand their reaction, but later I learned that *shinda* means in Awa-ben *shindoi* in standard Japanese, similar to *taihen*, something like *exhausted*, so I should have answered, in Awa-dialect, *ikeru*, which would be in standard Japanese *daijōbu desu*, *I'm alright,* or *I am doing fine*. But anyway, we all had fun with me as the *gaijin*, *foreigner*. And when the researcher knows and applies some local dialect, and includes an honest smile (or perhaps some humour), it is, in my experience, always much to the joy of the local people in Shikoku, who feel honoured that a foreigner, who might, on first impression, be looked at as being an 'outsider', is aware of their cultural heritage, which can 'open doors' and 'let him inside' for research.

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[81] Such as Berger (1963, 1967), Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Woodhead et al. (2001).

[82] See note 34 on page 37.

However, no matter how hard one tries, language learning is surely never complete. Bestor *et al.* stress that linguistic competence is not "the be-all and end-all of research…. As a project gets underway, even a researcher with the highest levels of language training will find it necessary to master new terminological terrain' (2003: 9). This is also true in the Shikoku pilgrimage, where there are many peculiar terms and expressions to learn. This includes all those specific terms for utensils; also, one might have learned that *settai* means 'selfless giving' (in both business entertainment and religious context), but in Shikoku the correct form to be used is *o-settai*, and not *settai*. Also, the island of Shikoku is sometimes referred to in the pilgrimage context as o-Shikoku, which can also mean, in certain instances, the pilgrimage itself.

On reflection regarding the above, objectivism, positivism, empiricism, feminism, ethnographic methodology, constructivism and interpretivism are general theoretical outlooks on, and approaches to, the gathering and interpretation of data; qualitative and quantitative research are two ways (methods) of gathering data (which could be used with different theoretical outlooks), that then need interpreting, and validity and linguistic aspects of meaning-making in Japan are issues that one needs to be aware of. I apply both Smart's phenomenological 'structured empathy' and ethnographic methodology and contextual analysis, using a constructivist/intertpretivist approach allied to the above two approaches to understand how pilgrims perceive the world around them and how they make sense of it, to figure out 'what goes on in their heads'. I therefore use various approaches for a research that is to be "methodologically inventive, empirically rigorous, theoretically-alive but with an eye to practical relevance" (Silverman, 2007: 145).

My fieldwork

First experiences of the Shikoku pilgrimage

My first pilgrimage experience was between 1993 and 1994[83], in other words, before

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[83] At that time, I lived in Tokushima-Prefecture on Shikoku Island (1992-2006), mainly Muya, which has a significant connection to this pilgrimage. However, when I commenced this doctoral research, I had moved to Tokyo (~2006), which made it more difficult to go on visits for research

I had enrolled in this research. However, it sparked my academic interest in it and brought me into contact with issues of health and pilgrimage, such as related to temple #22, Byōdō-ji, which was later researched in depth in the thesis. So, my first pilgrimage experience did 'lay the groundwork' for my thesis work. During this pilgrimage, I wore the traditional pilgrim's white outfit, with all accessories possibly available, trying to make up for my sparse Japanese communication abilities with a 'nice and neat' look.

First block of fieldwork (2007-2009)

After enrolling on the research degree programme, the first 'block' of fieldwork was between 2007 and 2009, I tried to talk and behave as 'correctly' as possible, and use as good Japanese as I was capable of, trying to bear in mind all the linguistic nuances discussed above. I wore priestly robes, which I thought to be appropriate, as I had been ordained in the meantime on Shikoku Island.

In 2007, I started out by collecting official documents from nearly all temples in the form of temple pamphlets, and then acquired temples' GPS data; there was hardly any interaction. In other words, I was looking like an insider, but started my fieldwork doing outside observer-type research, as I was mostly concerned with collecting 'hard' data. To lay the base for my research, I wanted to get more acquainted with the pilgrimage, and the processes involved and the temples: I wanted, first of all, to get at least some of the 'facts right'. I realize that some of the statements in temple pamphlets are historically questionable, but they do demonstrate how temples portray themselves. In 2008 I conducted research into the connection of Shinto and Buddhism by looking at various architectural designs of pilgrimage buildings, as well as at the role that a certain chief-deity, Daitsūchishō-*Nyorai* (Mahābhijňajňānābhibhū *Tathāgata*), played in this. While doing this, I came into contact with temple #55, which became important for later research. I also conducted a simple quantitative survey[84] of 1,000 pilgrims[85] at all 88 temples, including the

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on Shikoku.

[84] For a transcription of a typical such survey discourse, see appendix A.

[85] I did not want to survey pilgrims that were under 20, because twenty is the age of majority in Japan, and I was looking at the views of adults (some people under 20 have been doing the

shukubō[86] of temples #2, #6, #19, #38, #58, and #75[87], regarding their gender, age, mode of transportation and reasons for doing it. For this, I had a notebook with me in my white pilgrimage-*zuda-bukuro*[88], which hung around my neck, and made it a goal to survey around 10 pilgrims per temple (plus the *shukubō*), which I found rather easy: These pilgrims were chosen randomly, or rather, they chose themselves, insofar as often they would address me, a western pilgrim in traditional priest's outfit, often starting by asking where I came from. I would then offer to take their picture with their camera, and ask some more questions, explaining that I was engaged in this thesis-research; this process could last up to two minutes, or less. Following Silverman's advice gave good results: "Recognize the everyday skill… and try to start a dialogue with the people in your study based on understanding how these skills work out in practice" (2007: 146). So, if I was to initiate from my side, I would either address them, with a smiling (that is, positive) face, with an "*otsukaresama desu*[89]*… doko kara irashitan desu ka*?" ("*I appreciate your effort… where are you from*?"), and then following up with asking whether they were doing the pilgrimage by car: "*o-kuruma desu ka*?[90]", or, when there was a couple doing the pilgrimage together, I would address them, asking whether they would like me to take a photograph of both of them in front of a temple's gate and identifying sign: "*otsukaresama desu… o-futari no shashin torimashō ka?*", which they often happily agreed to. This was often implemented as a way to start a conversation. Once I had entered the compound, I would first of all go straight to the *nōkyō-sho*[91], to receive my seals – where, I knew for sure, that, while lining up, I could always survey several pilgrims waiting for their turn; initiating conversation with a friendly "*otsukaresama desu. Atsui desu ne... aruiterun desu ka?*" ("I appreciate your effort. It is hot, isn't it… are you walking?") or, for quite younger pilgrims, "*aruki desu ka?",* or, in a louder voice, "*aruite irasherun desu ka?"* for much older pilgrims), or, alternatively, "*o-kuruma desu ka?"* ("*Are you doing it by car?*"), was a sure way to

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pilgrimage on their own, though).

[86] 宿坊, temple lodging.

[87] I made it a rule to always stay at these *shukobō*.

[88] 頭陀袋, literally s*nake head*; a bag, to be hung around the neck, to carry small items and necessities.

[89] The meaning of *otsukaresama desu* is very difficult to pin down in English, and much depends on the situation, but in the pilgrimage context, I would translate it as something like *I appreciate your effort.*

[90] As I was in robes, I preferred to use very polite language, such as *o-kuruma* versus *kuruma*.

[91] 納経所, a facility in the temple, where the books, scrolls and clothes of the pilgrims are sealed, and where also various items are for sale.

elicit the information I was seeking. I would also address pilgrims with asking whether they came from Shikoku: "*Shikoku desu ka*?", and they would then usually tell me their origin. Not all interactions were as detailed as I would have wished for though, and sometimes I would only be able to survey the gender (by my own observation), and mode of transportation and origin. Important for me at that time, in 2008, was to understand pilgrimage basics: who, where from, why, and how, and these from as many informants as possible – a completely quantitative survey. Observations were scribbled down in my notebook either immediately or after our interaction had ended. As I was always under heavy time constraints, I did not write down any additional information, which was the reason that all of my subsequent interviews (and personal notes) during 2009 and 2011 were recorded on a digital recorder. However, to illustrate my research methodology, I wish to include a transcription, translation and audio recording of an interaction during my subsequent fieldwork, as an example of the way in which I gathered basic information (gender, age, origin, reasons for doing it, etc.) from my informants; it is included in appendix A.

During 2009, I inspected several thousand *osame-fuda* of past pilgrims, covering the time-span of the years 1816-1911, at the Nishida family at their *zenkonyado* in Shikoku, with whom I also talked about the custom of *o-settai* (we would meet again during the next year, to go more in depth into these topics). This family, who approved their name being mentioned in this thesis, was introduced to me as follows: During 2008, I had watched the NHK[92] quasi-documentary on television about the Shikoku pilgrimage, in which Mr Nishida Tadao (in his 60s), and his *osame-fuda* were mentioned. I visited the NHK head-offices in Tokyo and asked to be put into contact with him for research for this thesis; they confirmed that my intentions were 'good' and my Japanese fair enough to communicate with Mr Nishida, and so the producer of that documentary called him up to ask for, and receive permission, to pass his contact details to me. I then called Mr Nishida up and explained my research, and we agreed to meet at his home, which he used as a *zenkonyado*. A fine friendship developed out of this, and we subsequently met several more times there. He was very eager to share his information with me, partly because I had been properly introduced to him through the NHK producer, showed up at his home in

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[92] The public Japan Broadcasting Corporation.

clergy wear (the same as I had worn when I had visited NHK), spoke polite Japanese, and behaved 'correctly', such as always giving him some souvenirs from Tokyo. I was able to collect much information from Mr Nishida. I then acquired statistical data on walking pilgrims at temple #1, Ryōzen-ji. It was there and then that I came to know Rev. Kinoshita Tokiko (as with Mr Nishida, she agreed to have her name mentioned in this thesis), in her 70s, who is working and living there. She was much interested in my university research, and also wanted to support me because I am a Buddhist priest, and she also said that I remind her of her eldest son, and so helped me in every way she could. Again, a fine friendship has evolved out of this. I also briefly talked with pilgrims about the meaning that ritual behaviour has for them (and, as follow-ups, later during 2009 and in 2010, I conduced three telephone-communications, and receive two letters and four e-mails with further explanations from some of these pilgrims), particularly at temple #6, Anraku-ji. A sample of 'consecrated' water was collected at temple #22, Byōdō-ji (see experiences of my first pilgrimage), to be analysed for its chemical contents. As interesting as that is in itself, the results were presented and explained personally in the following year (2010) to the head priest's family of this temple, which 'opened doors' for an in-depth talk with the wife about this topic, and subsequent inspection of the main hall with important findings of the meaning that this has for past and contemporary pilgrims (a follow-up to this was done in 2011 at the home in Shikoku of a pilgrim, who believed himself to have been spiritually healed at #22). Artefacts relating to death and the pilgrimage were investigated at temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji. That I was an 'insider' and visited them in priestly robes was supportive for this; there were several more instances, where I was allowed not only to inspect places and items, which were otherwise closed to the public, but also to freely photograph them because of my 'insider'-status, such as the sixteen statues (which are *hibutsu*[93]) of princes of Kōun-ji (which is of my *shūha*[94]), and the secret deity statue (also *hibutsu*) of Tōen-bō. Also, the head priest of a certain pilgrimage temple chatted very openly to a 'fellow' priest regarding an artefact, which has a relevance to this thesis, kept at temple #51, Ishite-ji.

At temple #2, Gokuraku-ji, the death registry was inspected, and a pilgrim's family,

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[93] 秘仏, literally *secret Buddha*: A statue (not just of a Buddha) that is locked away and thus not shown to the public.

[94] Affilition of the temple to sect or denomination. In this case, Sōtō-*shū*.

the N.'s, was talked to regarding death at the *shukubō* of temple #6, Anraku-ji, where we stayed, and they used the term '*kuyō'*, '*memorialising the dead*'[95], when I had asked them why they do the pilgrimage. Hearing such a term left me, as a genuinely interested researcher, longing for an opportunity to present itself to gather further information; however, it was a delicate topic, so nothing could be 'pushed' here; one has to feel or understand the limits of how far one can go in fieldwork, and talking more about death would not have been appropriate at the dinner table. However, later that evening, in a relaxed and informal mood, when I, by chance, found them in front of a beer-vending machine, I took the opportunity to talk to the grandmother, mother and daughter about their previously mentioned *kuyō*. I gathered some information and then received their contact details, so that we could meet again in Shikoku to deepen this talk – this happened because the mother, on her own account, felt 'good' to share her grief with a member of the clergy, as it was easy for her to 'open her heart' to someone in a *kolomo* and who would use very considerate and very polite language towards her. This family was consequently visited at their home in Ehime-Prefecture in Shikoku in 2010 to seek further 'free' talk in their natural surroundings[96]. I also talked briefly with several *sendatsu*, regarding what it means to them to be appointed as such at temple #75, Zentsū-ji (and 'richer' long interactions were conducted in 2010 and 2011).

I have had similar experiences with fieldwork on the Shikoku pilgrimage as Reader writes about in 'Chance, Fate, and Undisciplined meanings: A Pilgrimage through the Fieldwork Maze' (in Bestor, Steinhoff and Bestor, 2003: 89-109): allowing, as a vital supplement of all preparation and planning, for chance to be part of my on-location-

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[95] 供養, Skt. *pūjanā*, originally meaning 'veneration' for the three jewels (Buddha, *Dharma*, *Sangha*). In Japan, it means 'memorialising', i.e. commemorating, the dead – bearing them in mind and expressing respect and honour, and this is the context that this term is used here in this thesis. *Kuyō* also means the official memorial services conducted by priests for the dead at the temple or at the home altar of the family. What benefit *kūyo* actions are seen to bring to the dead will be explained in the thesis.

[96] Which, when we met at their home on 31 October 2010, had to be postponed due to a worsening of the illness of her daughter: '*henro-utsu*', 'pilgrimage-depression', as the mother explained to me, leaving her unable to communicate beyond basics even with her family members. In her case, she mostly locked herself up in her room, until she could go on a pilgrimage again, which, at that time, was not possible, for several reasons (which were explained to me, but which I cannot make public here). However, she expressed a strong wish to meet again after her condition had stabilised and she would be able to concentrate on engaging in communication again. This 'post-*henro*-depression', as experienced by some pilgrims, will be an important aspect of my future research. For this, it is envisaged to employ largely quantitative data, such as questionnaires administered to a large sample of those affected by this, which would then later be supplemented by some qualitative interviews.

research. By this I mean to keep an open mind for, and embrace, unforeseen opportunities that present themselves, such as the family of temple #38, in 2009, who invited me to stay with them and share their dinner, where I was able, at the end of the day, when we had deepened our friendship, to question them about a topic that I could, under normal circumstances, not mention: does the temple play an active role in stopping people from committing suicide nearby, and, if not (as it had turned out), why not? This would, in the Japanese mentality, not be a theme to talk about, as the temple, that does nothing to stop them, might 'lose face'. If I had not been a priest, I am sure that such a topic would have not been talked about; in other words, even if I had mentioned it, they would not have followed up on my question, but drawn the conversation towards another topic.

Similar to Reader, when I paid visits to business entities, such as Iyo Tetsu in 2009, I would not call up beforehand and make an appointment, as this is

> an effective fieldwork strategy… unannounced arrivals mean that organizations are unprepared and hence unable to utilize avoidance tactics. Officials cannot conveniently get called out of the office or institution just before I arrive… Nor (an alternative way of disarming the investigator) can they roll out the proverbial red carpet, [and] deflect questions with generosity and kindness. (2003: 93).

I would, however, make an appointment whenever I planned on staying at the various *shukubō*, preferably before I even embarked on a trip to Shikoku, so that they could be well prepared for my stay, have the room cleaned and food prepared; I wouldn't have needed to do so, but as I was a priest, I found it appropriate to be as well-behaved as possible. This also relates to the *osame-fuda*: Unlike Reader, who was given free access to those in 1991 (Reader and Tanabe, 1998: 200, Reader: 2003: 94), I could not ask for permission for inspection of contemporary ones, as these might contain pilgrims' names and wishes, and even sometimes their address, and showing me these would go against the Japanese law of privacy of data, which is, particularly nowadays (much more than in 1991), strictly enforced. Asking to inspect or even record their contents would have put the temple into a difficult position: should they fulfil a fellow priest's wish (which they might be tempted to do), and thus disregard the civil law? I could not ask them for this. In my 'insider'-position, I was therefore restrained from certain forms of behaviour, such as asking to have a read through the *osame-fuda*. More about the traditions and contemporary customs regarding the *osame-fuda* and their disposal will be explained and analysed in two important interviews on page 176-177. Something similar happened at temple #1 in 2009, when we inspected their book with the names and addresses of the walking pilgrims that have registered there. Although I gave assurance that I would not record any names or addresses, but only extract statistical data, they did not hand it over it to me, but rather read out loud the relevant parts to me for so that I could make notes on it. As Reader points out: "A distinct advantage for foreigners when doing fieldwork in Japan is that they can slide around normative rules of appropriate behaviour – an advantage that should be used sparingly and with caution, but one that should never be disregarded" (2003: 103). Reader is carefully walking on a thin line here, which is why he calls for caution. Other researchers might have less experience than him: it is often difficult to know or to sense how far one can really go, especially in Japan, and one surely would not want to cause offense[97], as unintentional as it may be, which might then harm future researchers in conducting their work. In my case, because I am an 'insider' member of the Japanese Buddhist clergy, I could meet temple families, or gain information from fellow pilgrims (such as about the death of a family member), or access parts of the temple that were out of bounds for 'ordinary' people, but was, on the other hand, also restricted because I must not breach the trust, as well as the etiquette of behaviour, that was expected from me accordingly.

So, in 2008 and 2009, I researched still looking like an insider, but only with a certain amount of interaction. Silverman warns that under all circumstances it is important to consider how the data gathering influenced its reliability. "It demands that researchers attend to and demonstrate that they have thought through the extent to which their findings may simply be an artefact of their chosen method" (2007: 58). So – if I was dressed and behaved like an 'insider' (a Buddhist priest), might this not have caused the participants to tailor their answers to fit my assumed views? Would this not have 'contaminated' my findings? But then, could one generate 'uncorrupted' data? Tim May states that "the idea of disengagement to produce 'untainted' data is

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[97] As a side-note, I always introduce myself and ask for permission before I take a photograph of a person, for example Shikoku pilgrims (or, in case of children, I ask the parents first, and then I ask the children, too). I surely wouldn't need to do so when taking pictures in a public place (there are no legal restrictions on photography in a public place), but I want to make sure that my behaviour does not offend anybody. Even more so, in temples, I particularly take care that my behaviour does not offend anybody.

something of a myth" (2001: 170). Pilgrims and other participants were all very friendly towards me, and, yes, a member of the N.-family shared some of her grief with me, but still, I wanted more depth[98]. *Reactivity* was experienced in my fieldwork, in that some of the people I spoke to gave non-typical behaviour and answers, in other words, kept a distance through enormous friendliness and extreme polite language, *because* I was in priestly robes; they might have felt that this was the most appropriate way to interact with a clergy person, especially as they were pilgrims in Shikoku!

Second block of fieldwork (2010-2011)

Art Wolfe, renowned photographer and teacher, recently said as follows: "For you to make something meaningful in a place that you're so familiar with [as an insider], you have to change yourself…. It's hard. It's easy to say that in a philosophical way but hard to execute. But that challenge is where people grow" (in an interview conducted by Jenny Llakmani, senior editor, *The Rotarian*, 2011: 30).

So, I carefully reflected upon my research methods, allowing for further growth and evolution, and I realized that I needed more in-depth interactions, for getting to know what 'went on in pilgrims', and that I would need to focus on a smaller number of such interactions. I needed to *probe and explore more*, and for this, I needed to move away from *brief questions* to *sustained listening.* To achieve this, I needed to identify and approach key informants, establish a good relationship with them and then, over a longer period of time *observe* and *listen to what they want to tell me*, being careful not to indirectly put words into people's mouths, such as by leading questions. And I would not have to worry so much about ethical issues here, because, if people didn't want to talk about a certain topic, such as 'personal issues' (by this I mean something that is of immediate concern to them), they simply wouldn't; also, when the participant had had enough, he would clearly signal it. I would make a recording of the interactions on a digital voice-recorder so that I could be free to concentrate on

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[98] Staying in Shikoku for a longer period would have been good for this. Unfortunately, this is not an option for me. My observations could only be made during week-long fieldtrips, due to my wife's illness – this being a factor beyond my control, but which has to be taken into consideration at all times.

the on-going conversation with constant eye-contact, and have the conversation stored, to be accessible later whenever needed. The participants were informed about this thesis, in order to be able to make a decision about whether or how much they wanted to participate in, and voluntarily share information for, this study. They also could withdraw at any time. This approach would even extend to the amount of time that I planned to spend with them; I would not deliberately propose a shorter duration (so as not to put them off), and then simply extend this. For example, when I said that I planned our talk to last for around one hour[99], I would not go beyond that limit. If we did spend more time together, it was the participants who exercised control over this. In all instances, after we had finished our talk, I would then switch the machine off and put it away, clearly explaining what I was doing. This would give us an opportunity to slowly bring the conversation to an end by drifting into light small-talk, allowing the participant to end it at any time upon his decision. I would not keep the recorder going (see Bryman, 2001: 456f. for a discussion on this technique), as I regard it as unethical, as the people that I talked to might think that they were then ‘off the record’. If I said that I had switched it off, I had switched it off. I would also record some personal observations, such as atmosphere, or remarks shortly afterwards. I used a small, very light digital voice-recorder, which I always had visibly either hung around my neck or placed on the table; I would ask for permission to make a recording. I naturally do not have a transcription of the wording used by me, but they were something in the lines of: “Note-taking might be good, too, but I would like to take my time talking with you; besides, my handwriting is horrible, and surely later I couldn’t decipher my own writing (laugh). So is it OK if I put this onto the table here and make a recording of our talk?” – and received approval to do so. I also had received permission to use the name by Mr Nishida, Mr Ozaki and others: as an example, a transcription of my talk with Ms Itawaki, sister of the head priest of temple #55, recorded on the evening of 31 October 2010, goes as follows (we had talked in English, because she had preferred to communicate this way):

> Me: “So, thanks a lot. If I’m going to mention this in my thesis, can I use your name, or…”
> She: “Oh yes, of course.”

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[99] John Campbell, in his article ‘Research among Bureaucrats: Substance and Process’, experienced a similar length of, what he calls ‘“Real” Interviews’ in his fieldwork in Japan: forty-five to sixty minutes (on page 237 in Bestor, Steinhoff, Bestor (eds.), 2001: 229-247).

> Me: “Can I say that you told me [all of this what we have recorded]?”
> She: “*un*, *un*” [meaning *yes*, *yes*] – nodding her head in agreement each time she said ‘un’.

I changed my approach in the second ‘block’ of my fieldwork research in 2010: wearing ‘normal’ street-clothing, having no pilgrimage markers whatsoever (such as *kongō-tsue*, etc.), and talking in ‘simple’ Japanese. And as a *gaijin*, *foreigner*, I could ask (seemingly) naïve questions, or follow-up questions, that would not have been possible for me before. In this case, a foreigner is an outsider, in that he could allow himself to be just a little bit outside of the ‘norm’. But then I could never really be a complete outsider, because my fundamental sympathy for this pilgrimage might mean that I am in fact positioned somewhere ‘in-between’ – which I regard as an advantage, as it allows me to look at the pilgrimage from all possible angles. It also meant that I could keep having an open mind, with as few preconceptions as possible.

My 2010-2011 fieldwork, all recorded but not transcribed, included:

- A semi-structured interview (around 30 minutes) with Ms Itawaki, the sister of the head priest, Rev. Itawaki Shunkyō, of temple #55, Nankō-bō, and much information from this will be used in this thesis throughout (in 2010).
- Mr Nishida was also met again, and we mainly talked about his work regarding his pilgrimage-path, *o-settai* and his related work with schoolchildren[100]. The interview lasted 30 minutes (2010).
- Also around 30 minutes was my meeting with the head priest’s wife, Ms Taniguchi, of temple #22, Byōdō-ji, where I presented her with the official report of the results of the chemical analysis of their ‘consecrated’ water, and where she explained several valuable points with regard to healing of illnesses at her temple and artefacts and letters left there by those who believed themselves to have been cured (2010).
- A one-hour-long interaction with pilgrim Mr Nishikawa Yasuyuki about his ‘miraculous’ cure at temple #22 (2011).
- Two *sendatsu* were interacted with separately in Tokyo, both for one hour

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[100] How the pilgrimage is transmitted by locals to their children, and the childrens’ understanding of it, will for a part of my future research. I have already started to collect data from children at Akadomari-village, with the help of Mr Nishida.; see pages 307-308.

each, to find out how Kōbō Daishi is part of the living orally-presented understanding of the pilgrimage (such as whether they tend to talk of Kōbō Daishi as founder, whether they are telling and spreading miracle stories, whether they are agents of the orthodox Shingon view of the pilgrimage, but also of more individualized folk ideas) (2011).

- Various much shorter recorded interactions, which provided some valuable additional details to various aspect that are discussed in this thesis: I inquired about the custom of using a certain water ladle in the context of childbirth at temple #34, Tanema-ji; talked again to the *nōkyō-sho*-officer at temple #46, Jōryu-ji, to clear up some matters regarding their *bussoku-seki*[101] and curing of illnesses; and talked to the head priest of temple #50, Hanta-ji about issues regarding Shinto and Buddhism (all 2010), and the date when the artefacts of spiritually healed artefacts of pilgrims at temple #71 were disposed of (2011).

So, in fact, I conducted my fieldwork looking like an outsider, and many people I talked to did not know I was in fact an insider, although I was always quick to clarify this should I be asked: for example, in one case (at temple #38), noticing my Buddhist name on the nameplate at the dinner table of the *shukubō*, a pilgrim wondered whether I am ordained, and I confirmed this, and explained myself accordingly.

An online transcription and translation into English is provided of the pilgrimage-life-interview with the 92-years-old Mr Ozaki Suehiro:

English translation:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/life-e.pdf
Japanese transcription:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/life-j.pdf

He is the grandfather of a good friend of mine, my dentist. When we talked about this thesis, he suggested that I interview his grandfather in Kōchi on Shikoku, as he had done the pilgrimage several times over many years, sometimes accompanied by his son. My dentist subsequently phoned there, explained and introduced me, and Mr Ozaki agreed to meet, together with his son, Wataru, and daughter-in-law, Tomoko, at his home. We combined this interview with an examination of various personal

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[101] 仏足石, a stone with the Buddha’s footprint engraved in it.

documents, and much could be learned from this; more about this in the analysis of this interview. I was surprised how the old pilgrim at his home, surrounded by his immediate family, was keen to talk about his personal story (which was where the wealth of information lay) – I stayed with them for around two hours, including a one-hour-long ‘life history’-interview, or rather: I was careful to steer as little in any direction but let him, and his family, speak for themselves.

In two instances I could talk to people giving out *o-settai* about what this means to them (at temple #40 and #58) - see:

#40:
English translation: http://www.ryofupussel.org/40-e.pdf
Japanese transcription: http://www.ryofupussel.org/40-j.pdf
Original audio recording: http://www.ryofupussel.org/audio-40

#58:
English translation: http://www.ryofupussel.org/58-e.pdf
Japanese transcription: http://www.ryofupussel.org/58-j.pdf
Original audio recording: http://www.ryofupussel.org/audio-58

Furthermore, I stayed at the *shukubō* of temple #75, Zentsū-ji, and I recorded our talk at the dinner table. The participants consisted of a *sendatsu* with his group of four women (conducting the pilgrimage by micro-bus), and four individually travelling pilgrims (three men, all walking, and one woman, who combined walking with riding public buses), and me. The transcription of our nearly one-hour long talking and its translation into English is provided on-line as:

English translation: http://www.ryofupussel.org/75-e.pdf
Japanese transcription: http://www.ryofupussel.org/75-j.pdf

A similar conversation, also lasting around one hour, at the dinner table of the *shukubō* of temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji, is provided on-line as:

English translation: http://www.ryofupussel.org/38-e.pdf
Japanese transcription: http://www.ryofupussel.org/38-j.pdf

These participants consisted of a husband and his wife (walking plus buses), and two more individually travelling pilgrims (man 1 walking, man 2 doing it by trains and buses). These were both around one hour long, and revealed much important information on how adult people construct the meaning that the pilgrimage has for them, and how pilgrims interact.

An audio-visual recording of pilgrims (made on 20 May 2011) at the main hall of temple #1, Ryōzen-ji, important for analysing their ritual behaviour, is made available on-line at:

Video-recording: http://www.ryofupussel.org/video-1

It is appropriate to briefly touch on the question of how 'typical' of most pilgrims these people were. One can see that the ages of the group of pilgrims at temple #38 are in line with the results of my fieldwork research in 2008 (see appendix B): the peak is in 60s, followed by 70s, and the highest number of pilgrims are retirees, who would also have the time and particularly funds to do the pilgrimage. At temple #38, the husband and his wife both stated that they were retired, and so did man 1 and man 2 at temple #75; the participants of the *sendatsu*'s group looked to me also in their 60s/70s and retired. My interviews were taken in October, which is the third most popular month for doing it: The research by Kagawa University showed that the peak month for the pilgrimage is November, closely followed by March, and October (2008: 28-9, graphs 5-8). Regarding the pilgrims' origins, my research of 2008 revealed that most pilgrims come from Shikoku, followed by Kansai in second place, Kyūshū was in fourth place, Kantō in sixth, and Hokkaidō in eighth (from nine areas, plus foreign countries, appearing in my survey): At temple #38, the husband and wife both came from Hokkaidō (however, her family was from Kansai), and man 2 and man 3 both came from Kansai; at temple #75, man 1 came from Shikoku, man 2 from Kantō, man 3 and woman 1 both from Kansai, and the *sendatsu* came from Kyūshū. At temple #38, two participants (man 2 and man 3) did the pilgrimage in parts, whereas husband and wife did it in one go; at temple #75, man 2 and man 3 did it in parts, whereas woman 1 and the *sendatsu* with his group did it in parts. All participants did it in clock-wise direction, as most pilgrims do. At temple #38, it was the first time for the husband, and the second time for his wife to do the pilgrimage, whereas at temple #75, it was the first time for man 1 and man 3, and man 2 (of temple #75) and the *sendatsu* (of temple #38) were both more experienced – a mixture of novice and experienced pilgrims. The Ozakis in the long-interview at their home did it exclusively by car, in parts. The other pilgrims walked, and sometimes used taking busses, taxis, or trains. So, all in all, my informants were all 'typical' pilgrims, so it can be argued that these findings are representative and have some broader applicability, too (but of course one needs to be cautious not to be too overgeneralizing).

So, taking all my various research and fieldwork together, I collected: hard data through brief surveys, and rich and deep data through long interviews, in which the participants were encouraged to answer in their own ways. This is not so much a distinction between quantitative and qualitative, but both approaches, I felt, complement each other for this thesis. I realized that "talk, documents and other artefacts as well as interaction can offer revealing data" and that "'obvious' actions, settings and events… [are] potentially remarkable" (Silverman, 2007: 146).

In-depth-recordings – introduction

In order to find out what understanding contemporary pilgrims have of this pilgrimage, it is a good idea to look at what areas they talk about, and what topics their conversations are covering.

The aspect of language, in particular Japanese language, with all its nuances in meaning-making, has already been touched in this chapter. Here, if the conversations are to be analysed, in order to understand the communication between the participants, we need to consider the cultural context in which it has arisen and within that culture, the particular situation in which it is playing. Two dinner conversations between pilgrims, together with my questions and comments, were recorded. Recording and analysing two, and not only one, of such talks leads to a better validity, for example, to confirm that they do in fact cover many similar topics. The third recording of the life-pilgrimage-interview took place at the elderly man's home just outside of Kōchi-city, together with his immediate family, and it will be analysed last in this part.

The recording at pilgrimage temple #75, Zentsū-ji

The first interaction took place on 24 October 2010 during dinner at the *shukubō* of temple #75, Zentsū-ji[102]. The group at our table (literally, as we were using chairs and a table, unlike at the other *shukubō* of #38, where we sat in the traditional style *tatami*-mats) consisted of four individually travelling pilgrims and a *sendatsu* with his group of four elderly ladies. Here, I was very much of a listener, and let them decide what to talk about. As many knew each other (as they had stayed in the same accommodation, and/or had met at temples), they were more relaxed and talked more open and freely than they would have if they were surrounded entirely by people whom they had just met for the first time. When analysing the topics they talked about, it is also important to look at their social relations: for example, at #75, the man 2 was experienced (he has walked it seven times), and so he could talk quite frankly with the *sendatsu*, who was also experienced, about certain bad stories of temples. Others, for whom the pilgrimage was the first time, did not join in at all on this topics: Man 2 brought up the topic "why did Tairyū-ji[103] destroy the *Ryu-no-iwaya* limestone cave?... They didn't preserve a place that's mentioned in a *go-eika*[104]. That's a terrible thing for a temple to do. .. I don't understand why it never becomes a social issue."[105] The *sendatsu* replied to this: "If you hear all the inside stories, there are many indications of wrongdoings by temples. They just don't talk

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[102] Please refer to the English translation and the original Japanese transcription which are made on-line at:

English translation:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/75-e.pdf
Japanese transcription:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/75-j.pdf

[103] Pilgrimage temple #21.

[104] ご詠歌, traditional temple's hymn, praising the *honzon*.

[105] 太龍寺あそこに龍の岩屋なんでつぶしたんですか、あんなとこ。。。あんなとこで、ご詠歌に入ってるところつぶしちゃって。あれはひどいですよね。お寺のすることじゃないよな。。。それもね、なんも問題にならなかったってのが不思議なんだけれども。

about it because the list could go on forever if you start"[106]. One can sense how openly they talked about this; they were related through their experience, and they were both 'high' in hierarchy, so they had a 'right' to critically discuss this and show a high level of disapproval with the pilgrimage temple. As such, their talk served not only to discuss these matters, but also had a *social purpose*: to clarify their standing within the *henro* 'hierarchy'. There is no bad by-taste with this: I think it is fair to say that in any conversation, it will usually happen that it will be established what status and therefore what level of authority the participants have. Also, one can see that the *sendatsu* gives much advice, as on the one hand he is much experienced, but on the other it is his 'status' as such that allows him to advise men that are older than himself, which, in Japanese society, is not such an easy thing to do.

All participants used specific terms, such as Iyo-no-kuni instead of Ehime-Prefecture, *nōkyō-chō* and not, say, *bukku* (book), various temple-names or an abbreviation of these (such as Yokomine or Yokomine-san for Yokomine-ji), *Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*. These specific terms are difficult to understand for an outsider. So, the language they use is anchored in the context of the Shikoku pilgrimage. One could say that the language they use is shaped by it. Recounting their experiences also serve this purpose of harmonious belonging to 'the pilgrims' and to clarify that they *all* have undergone certain experiences, as well as discussing practical matters on how to deal with e.g. heavy rain, which, again, all have experienced. Talking about this leads to a feeling of community. The language they used was a way of achieving a special social purpose, and this is the *situation* they are in: bonding them together as participants of the pilgrimage – they, as 'insiders' know these specific terms of the Shikoku pilgrimage *genre*, in other words, they have a shared knowledge that others might not have, and this leads to a feeling of harmony and group-belonging, which is particularly important in the Japanese *cultural context*.

To understand the pilgrims better, we need to know more about their background. Therefore, their ages and other personal details are given below. It should also be noticed who is in what ways involved in creating the conversation, such as, how much each participant contributes.

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[106] いやもう裏話聞いとったらどこのお寺でもある程度のいろんなことやってるから、もううわさは聞いてるんで、もうだからそれを言わないだけだと思いますよ、もう。もう言ってたらきりないもん、もう。

At this dinner conversation at the *shukubō* were (besides me) three men, and the first appearing in the recording was drinking beer[107]. He and the second man (who later gave me his contact details – we met afterwards in Tokyo[108]) both stated that they were retired. The third man did not give any details regarding this, but I would reckon him to be in his early 70s, the woman and the *sendatsu* were both in their 50s. Man 1 and man 2 were talking the most, followed by the *sendatsu* and the woman, with man 3 keeping much to himself. Most of their conversation was about sharing experiences and becoming friendly [109] with other pilgrims**.** They started their interaction by sharing experiences of getting lost, of how bad weather (it was raining on that and the previous day) influenced their walking, inquiring where they stayed yesterday, sharing experiences about, and comparing, accommodation and about food served at certain *shukubō* and other places. They also recalled where they met before[110], and compared the way that they do it (in parts and in one-go, followed by motivating each other to 'hang in there' for the last part of the pilgrimage (with a further 13 temples on Shikoku to go before completion). They also discussed the best time schedule for next morning. This was followed by sharing experiences when they had forgotten something at an accommodation and how to deal with such a situation. They then talked about their experiences of hard/difficult to access places. Then they went back to the topic of talking about food at certain places, and discussing about making reservations at accommodations. In order to become 'befriended' they then talked about their wives wanting them to be out of the house, and for that, doing the pilgrimage is good. Then the conversation steered back to the topic 'food' by talking about what was served at this *shukubō* that night. They then informed each other where they were from, and discussed famous persons that were born in their hometown. Back to sharing experiences, they talked about the modes of transportation, hardship experienced by walking at certain difficult-to-access temples, in particular in the current bad weather, and how rain affects the road by flooding it, which one participant had also experienced back in May 2010. They then discussed their schedule for the next days. I then brought the conversation to the topics

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[107] I, for myself, do not have any alcohol during my visits to Shikoku. So, unfortunately, I cannot use the sharing of the experience of drinking alcohol together as a means to get to know the pilgrimage participants better.

[108] On 17 November 2010.

[109] By this I mean what Japanese call to become 仲良し, *nakayoshi*.

[110] Walking pilgrims happen to meet sometimes again, on the way and/or at the accommodation.

‘*sendatsu’* as well as their reasons for doing the pilgrimage and we discussed these, but this turn in the free flow of the conversation was induced by me.

The recording at pilgrimage temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji

The second group was recorded at the dinner at the *shukubō* of temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji on the evening of 29 October 2010[111]. It consisted of four participants (plus myself) and the *shukubō*’s waitress, who would however not contribute much to this conversation. The husband was 60 years old, and his wife 62; they were both retired, and enjoying their last night, as they would travel back home the next day. Man 3 also planned to go back on the following day. As such, the couple had a good, relaxed mood, and they and man 2 were drinking their beer; as it had turned out, the couple had stayed at the same accommodation the previous night as man 2. So the whole atmosphere was relaxed and people talked openly. The wife talked the most, followed my man 2, and then her husband, whereas man 3 rather kept to himself. Here, too, much of their conversation was about sharing experiences and getting befriended, albeit less than at #75, as I was asking more questions this time, because I wanted to learn how they felt and thought about certain topics that were not, or, I felt, not enough, discussed before, such as Shinto and Buddhism, the aspect of death and the pilgrimage, *hibutsu*, and so on – so I had planned to simply ‘go ahead’ and ask them about it, to learn what was ‘in their heads’. Although we were to experience a typhoon that hit this cape during that night, we did not talk about how bad weather affected the pilgrimage, probably due to the fact that three out of four participants would travel back home by bus and plane the next morning, so dangerous roads and getting wet were not much of an issue here. After they were asked by me on why they did the pilgrimage and where they came from, they themselves shared information about how they did the pilgrimage, and how they prepared for it. They also talked about how much money and time the pilgrimage required, and the hardships experienced through walking it. They then talked about their origin (Hokkaidō), and its beauties of nature, culture, food, best season there, and what to

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[111] Please refer to the English translation and the original Japanese transcription which are made on-line at:

English translation: http://www.ryofupussel.org/38-e.pdf
Japanese transcription: http://www.ryofupussel.org/38-j.pdf

experience in each season. After man 2 tried to inform the participants that he went to university there, and after we discussed *hibutsu*, they came back to the topic of 'Hokkaidō'. It might indicate that the couple were somehow looking forward to going back home. The talk shifted to their ages again, as they talked about being able to take long vacations as they were retired. The conversation ended by 'bonding' through sharing experiences (again), such as talking about how many kilometres they have walked, how much money they all spend on the pilgrimage, and, finally, about Kyoto, Hokkaidō (again) and culture.

Various aspects that appear in these two conversations at temples #75 and #38 will be taken up and analysed throughout this thesis.

The recording of the Ozaki-family

The third recording discussed in this thesis is a life-pilgrimage interview with Mr Ozaki Suehiro, his son Wataru and daughter-in-law Tomoko, conducted on 27 October 2010[112]. He was introduced to my research through my friend and dentist, who is the son of his daughter, in other words, his grandson. He did not inform them that I was a Buddhist priest and *sendatsu*, so I could ask questions that might have been regarded as naïve by them. He did, however, tell them that I was German (it was known to him that his grandfather had some resentments against Americans; in the interview he suddenly, in detail, talked about his memories of partaking in the Second World War, which seem to play a key-part in his life). As their grandson's friend, they welcomed me open-armed in their house. Their only concern had been, as they told me, that they had been worried how to communicate with me, as they hadn't been informed that I could speak Japanese – and they were relieved to find out that it wasn't a problem at all. So, after the first few minutes, they obviously became very relaxed, which resulted in a positive, good atmosphere. All in all I asked many questions, but was careful to steer the interview as little as possible, so as to let him,

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[112] Please refer to the English translation and the original Japanese transcription which are made on-line at:

English translation:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/life-e.pdf
Japanese transcription:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/life-j.pdf

and the family, speak for themselves. He was very keen and happy to talk about his personal story, and show artefacts that have a 'special value/meaning' for him, and all of this is where the wealth of information lay. The father and son talked, more or less, the same amount, with the daughter-in-law less; she was at first very quiet and took a longer time than her husband and father-in-law to 'warm up' towards me as someone whom she had met for the first time, but towards the end we chatted about various matters, which were not pilgrimage-related (she has not done the pilgrimage yet, nor had joined her family in their *kugiri-uchi*[113]), such as *seiza*[114], tea ceremony, pottery, Kyoto, green tea and tee-sweets – this is where her main interests lay, and she admitted that she didn't know a certain aspect of the usage of the *nōkyō-chō*. She did contribute to our talk at the topics of *handai*[115], death and Shinto and Buddhism, *hibutsu*, and miracle tales of Kōbō Daishi, but especially her 'being there' with a friendly attitude, was very helpful. If she had been, say, nervous or irritated[116], things might have gone much differently. It was like the men were doing the talk, and the wife would keep a nice atmosphere – not as a cliché, but as a matter of fact as what I had experienced in this household; the photograph below (taken, after we finished the interview and recording, where we had talked: in their living-room) shows that she attended our conversation – with a guest whom they had all met for the first time – wearing an apron, and she had been sitting in *seiza* on the floor throughout, in other words, *below* us, as we sat on chairs. This is, and I mean this without judgement, a hint at how she saw her role and how she behaved. This plate also shows the table with the various items (such as handmade- and later purchased *nōkyō-chō*, the tea that she had served us, the fruits that they had prepared and offered me), the grandmother's *kongō-tsue*[117], which is red and that of a *sendatsu*, which he holds, displaying some pride in this, as well as me in 'normal' street-clothes. It also shows our nice harmony and relaxed atmosphere; in particular, looking at the faces and body-expression, one can see how close father and son, and indeed all family members, are. Taking our photograph ended this interview, and I am thankful for the opportunity that I had to be able to listen to this family's life-pilgrimage memory.

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[113] 区切りうち, doing the pilgrimage in parts.

[114] The traditional way of sitting on the Japanese floor, with the feet tucked away under the buttocks.

[115] 判代, money spent on the seals.

[116] Such as thinking "Why is this foreigner invading our family in the evening with his dumb questions?"

[117] 金剛杖, 'Diamond stick'; a wooden stick used by pilgrims, symbolising Kōbō Daishi.


Plate 5: The Ozaki-family in the grandfather's living-room, after our interview, photograph taken on 27 October 2010

The contents of what they told me will be used throughout the thesis. Looking at our talk, it becomes clear how the act of preparing and conducting the pilgrimage as well as preserving the items gives meaning to these activities and in particular binds the family together, in which they are sharing family traditions, passed on from the grandparents to the parents all the way to the son.

In-depth-recordings – conclusion

With the group at temple #75 I was more of a listener, and was careful to record what they would talk about, whereas at #38, there were more instances where I gently guided the conversation towards certain areas. Still, I was careful not to steer too much, but rather, upon bringing the talk to a certain topic (which I needed to do, as I was the interviewer), I simply listened to what they said. This approach was also done at the Ozaki-family interview: although I was asking more, I was still careful to let them talk and discuss matters with each other, whilst allowing them to explain certain issues to me in detail, too. In all cases, we had a fair amount of interaction, and participants were free to exit a certain topic at any time.

When looking at these three in-depth recordings, it becomes clear that there are several topics relating to their understanding of the pilgrimage, which are covered by all groups. Regarding historical aspects of the pilgrimage, the recordings of all three groups includes their discussion of their understanding of Kōbō Daishi, his role in the Shikoku pilgrimage and the origin of the pilgrimage. All three groups also talked about their understanding of the sacred foci of the pilgrimage: their religious affiliation and their thoughts about 'religion', and the group at #38 as well as the Ozaki family further discussed the connection between Shinto and Buddhism and their understanding of *hibutsu*, *honzon*[118], and rituals conducted by the pilgrims at the temples (also in relation to Shinto *kami*[119]), with the Ozakis adding more information about their understanding of 'pilgrimage items and pilgrims' ritual behaviour'.

Relating more to current aspects of the pilgrimage and the pilgrims' understanding of these, all three groups revealed some personal data and talked about their age, whether they were retired or not, their place of origin, residence, their mode of doing it (now, and, where applicable, before), about driving the pilgrimage (and the pro's and con's thereof), their particular style of doing the pilgrimage (*tōshi-uchi*[120] / *kugiri-uchi*[121]*; jun-uchi*[122] / *gyaku-uchi*[123]) and reason for doing so, how many times they have done the Shikoku pilgrimage before, and their duration / schedule , including the development of transportation on Shikoku. Unlike the two *shukubō*-groups, the Ozakis did not discuss the transportation to Shikoku Island from the mainland (as they are living in Shikoku), and the accommodation, including the reason for choice, as they would only do day-trips. The group at #38 and the Ozakis discussed the costs involved in pilgrimage. All three groups revealed the meaning that the pilgrimage has for them, such as the reasons for doing the pilgrimage (and,

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[118] 本尊: statue of the chief deity of a temple, enshrined in the *hon-dō*.

[119] 神: Shinto deity.

[120] 通し打ち, doing the the entire pilgrimage in one go.

[121] See note 113 on page 93.

[122] 順打ち, doing the pilgrimage clockwise.

[123] 逆打ち, doing the pilgrimage anti-clockwise. Many locals of Shikoku also call it *saka-uchi*, such as Mr Ozaki in his life-pilgrimage interview. Both terms have the same meaning.

on a 'broader scale', the meaning that the pilgrimage has for them), their experience of hardship, and except the group at #75, the issue of death was also covered. Both *shukubō*-groups talked about their expected feeling when the pilgrimage would be completed, and all three revealed their understanding of the *sendatsu*. Other aspects in the pilgrims' recorded conversations included the future plans of these pilgrims, stories of temples' wrong-doings, and other pilgrimages, in Japan and abroad.

The Ozaki family also explained to me their understanding of the *bekkaku*, *bangai*[124] and pilgrimage items (such as seals, *handai*, *nōkyō-chō*, *kakejiku*[125], *osugata-chō*[126], *osame-fuda*, *o-suna-fumi* (see plates 6 and 7 on page 97)[127]) and what these mean to them. This is related to statistical data and pilgrims' ritual behaviour.

The contents of the material from these three recordings will be used throughout the thesis. These three talks reveal the areas that contemporary pilgrims have an interest in, and the understanding of the pilgrimage that they have, with particular reference to the role that Kōbō Daishi has for them in it. Analysing these provides a lens through which to decipher some of the underlying parameters and perceptions of the pilgrimage world and its dynamics, and – on a broader plane – through which to learn about issues that are of contemporary social and religious concern to the Japanese.

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[124] 番外, a temple that is not a member of the '88' or a *bekkaku*, but still often visited by pilgrims.

[125] 掛け軸, hanging scroll.

[126] 御影帳 A book for collecting the おすがた *osugata* (*miei*)-slips, depicting the 本尊 *honzon* of each temple.

[127] お砂踏み. Touching (either by hand or by stepping on it) of soil taken from each temple's compound, thus symbolically making the Shikoku pilgrimage.

Plate 6: *O-suna-fumi* at temple #76, Konzō-ji. Note the samples in squares on the floor, in front of items linked to the temples from which the samples come. Photograph taken on 25 May 2011

Plate 7: Another form of *o-suna-fumi*: Hands of a small child touching the sachets with sand from the grounds of each of the 88 temples; the accompanying *miei* (*osugata*)-slips can also be seen; photograph taken at temple #51, Ishite-ji, on 23 May 2009

Chapter 3: Kōbō Daishi, his possible role in the Shikoku pilgrimage, and initial review of contemporary pilgrims' understanding of this, with related issues of meaning-making

Kōbō Daishi Kūkai (774-835)

As this pilgrimage is presented in most media (guidebooks, television, magazines, newspapers) and by most official pilgrimage guides as being strongly connected to Kōbō Daishi, an outline of his life, as related to this pilgrimage, will be given.

It is generally accepted that Kūkai (his monk's name), also posthumously known as Kōbō Daishi, was born with the secular name 'Mao' (True Fish)[128], on what corresponds to the 15th day of June, 774. He had high ranking parents: his father Saeki Tagimi, a powerful and rich local provincial governor, whose clan was a branch of the Ōtomo clan which is said to have been one of the noblest houses, extending long back into Japanese history (Hakeda Yoshito, 1972: 13), and his mother, Lady Tamayori of the wealthy Ato clan in Kyoto. Most people understand that he was born in the town of Byōbuga-ura of Kagawa Prefecture in Shikoku Island (for example Casal, 1959: 95, Shiba Ryotaro, 2005: 1, Hakeda, 1972: 13). Zentsū-ji, pilgrimage temple #75, is generally regarded as his birth-place by the majority of Shingon followers and pilgrims and has thus become one of the three most important temples for members of the Shingon school. The other two are Kōya-san as the head monastery and his resting place, and also Tō-ji in Kyoto. The temple's name (*jigō*) *Zentsū-ji* derives from his father's name: *Yoshimichi*, *Right Path*, which are the same two *kanji* as Zentsū-ji, just a different reading. The *ingō*[129] is Tanjō-in, which is the

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[128] Another possible name could have been Tōtomono (Precious One) (Hakeda, 1972: 14). Although generally 'Mao' is used, it cannot be said with absolute certainty what his secular name was.

[129] 山号 *sangō,* 寺号 *jigō,* 院号 *ingō:* The traditional full name of a temple: *Sangō,* mountain name, *jigō,* temple name, and – in case of a large temple – *ingō,* the name of the sub-temple. Although temples were not always located on mountains, the areas surrounding them would always be given a 'mountain' name. For example, temple #1 (although located on an altitude of only 19m [as per my GPS data acquisition during my fieldwork in October 2010]): *Jigō*: Ryōzen-ji, s*angō*: Jikuwa-zan, *ingō*: Ichijō-in. Its *shūha* (denomination) is Koyasan Shingon.

place where Kōbō Daishi is said to have been born (*tanjō*). The *sangō* is *gogaku-zan*, because there are five mountains behind the temple: Kōshiki-zan, Hitsu-zan, Gahaishi-zan, Chū-zan, Kajō-zan.

Shiraki Toshiyuki and Yoritomi Motohiro explain in their *Shikoku henro no kenkyū* (Studies on the Shikoku Pilgrimage) that Kūkai returned from China in October 806, when he arrived in Kyūshū and then continued his travels to Kyoto (2001: 16), where he would have been very busy. However, as the legend goes, back from China, Kūkai built a pagoda at his birthplace in order to pray for his ancestors, his father having presented him with the land for this. In the summer of 807 he is said to have decided to build a temple (with the name Zentsū-ji), associated with the already built pagoda, to have started with the construction in the beginning of December in the same year, and to have completed it in June of 813. It is built as a copy of Seiryū-ji-temple in China. The temple has become very wealthy and possesses many treasures, which are classified as National Treasures, such as the *shakujō* (garb), believed to have been given to Kūkai by his Chinese Master as a sign of *Dharma* transmission. The *hon-dō* is said to have been built by Kūkai (later destroyed by fire though). The founder's hall is not called *daishi-dō*[130] but *miei-dō*[131], as it houses statues of his family: both his as well as - in the centre - a statue of young Mao, 7 years old, which his uncle, Saeki Michinaga, is said to have carved. Pilgrims staying at the modern *shukubō* attend the morning ceremony at the *miei-dō.* Usually these are concluded with a lecture by a high ranking priest, but sometimes, when nobody is available, or when there is still time left, pilgrims are directed to descend into the hall below it[132]. It is a completely dark tunnel (generally said to be 100m long) and, as far as I personally and my fellow pilgrims were concerned, quite frightening. It was a 'C'-shaped tunnel, and visitors chant uninterrupted '*Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*' ('Homage to the Saviour Daishi, the Illuminating and Imperishable One', transl. Miyata, 1984: 33), with a loud voice, gradually entering into some sort of ecstasy, as far as my observations could tell, reaching its climax when we finally arrived at a chamber halfway through the tunnel (see plate 8), where a tape-recording would start (initiated by an automatic sensor), explaining with a young woman's voice that we will now

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[130] 大師堂, Daishi-hall, where a statue of Kōbō Daishi enshrined.

[131] 御影堂, which Suzuki Michitaka translates as *a House of the Venerable Shadow* (2011: 11).

[132] Such as on the 25 October 2010, when I stayed there.

hear the voice of Kōbō Daishi[133]. Pilgrims stopped their chanting, sat in *seiza*, hands in *gasshō*, and a deep voice, very slowly, like in a trance, talked briefly about what good karma (*butsu-en*) [134] we had to be brought here to Zentsū-ji, and to cherish life. The pilgrims became very uplifted, emotionally moved, and, as not much time was available (breakfast was waiting and the bus-group needed to leave the temple in their tightly fixed schedule), left quickly, chanting '*Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*' again – now the second half of the dark tunnel through which we left posed no threat any more. Pilgrims were happy to have been able to visit the place where Kūkai had been born, according to what they happily talked about during breakfast. The atmosphere of this place can be sensed on plate 8 on the next page.

On the other hand, Shiraki and Yomitori say that Kaigan-ji, which is near-by at the Seto Inland seashore, could, in fact, be his real birthplace (2001: 16). The name of his birth town is said to be Byōbuga-ura (such as Zhenping Wang, 2005: 187; Hakeda, 1972: 277), and this means in English translation 'Folding Screen *Bay'* (Shiba, 2005: 10-11; italicized by me); Zentsū-ji, on the other hand, is located *inland*. There are two *honzon* enshrined at Kaigan-ji temple to commemorate this: Kannon *Bosatsu* (Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*) and Kōbō Daishi Tanjōbutsu (Kōbō Daishi as a baby). This temple is said to have been built by Kūkai's family, who had a small summer house here, as this was a cool place during the hot and humid summer months due to the constant breezes from the Seto Inland Sea, and it also has a fine view of the sea; it was, so one is told, especially favoured by his mother, who stayed here during her pregnancy (as Mao was born on 15 June 774). This house is seen to have become the first building of a temple, the construction of which Kūkai's family commenced in 778.

Both temples claim a direct connection to Kūkai, not least because pilgrims are a large source of income[135, 136]. Zentsū-ji has a large *shukubō* and Kaigan-ji runs a

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[133] 「お大師様の声でお話がありますので、みなさん心して、お聞き下さい」。

[134] 「仏縁です」。

[135] These are not the only temples that have rivalled each other. Takamure writes about Iwamoto-ji and Kichizō-ji, which were both numbered as pilgrimage temple #37 when she visited there in 1918: a situation that had been like this since the 1880s. According to her, temple #37, Iwamoto-ji, had become poor, as it had lacked income during *haibutsu-kishaku* (Suppression of Buddhism in favour of Shinto-movement, initiated by the Meiji (1868-1912)-government; lasted between 1868 and ca. 1872) and, after that period had ended, a rich person from that area, Mr Kichizō, paid them ¥3,500 (a huge sum at those times) for their *honzon* and permission to

Plate 8: The chamber in the tunnel below the *miei-dō* at temple #75, Zentsū-ji, photograph taken on 25 October 2010

youth hostel in its grounds. If the name of his birthplace, Byōbuga-ura, is correct, Kaigan-ji, being located on the waterfront, seems more likely to have been the place of his birth: if one compares the GPS data of both temples which I have collected in my fieldwork[137], it becomes clear that the former is only approximately 150 m away from the current waterfront, whereas Zentsū-ji is roughly 6 km. Nevertheless, it is possible that the flat area where Kaigan-ji is located is land reclaimed from the bay

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operate a *nōkyō-sho*, for which he subsequently built his own temple, bearing his family name, Kichizō-ji (1979: 84), and they existed both as pilgrimage temple #37 ever since, with Kichizō-ji, I assume, giving out the seals and calligraphies. Later, Iwamoto-ji successfully reclaimed and regained their *honzon* and *nōkyō-sho*-rights back, but I cannot locate any further details about this struggle.

[136] Anraku-ji and Zenraku-ji rivalling to be pilgrimage temple #30 are another example.

[137] Kaigan-ji: lat. 34.255883, long. 133.727647; Zentsū-ji: lat. 34.2252, long. 133.774467.

(the date of construction of this temple is not established). In such a case, Zentsū-ji would have been nearer to the seashore than it is now and thus *could* have been the birthplace of Kōbō Daishi. However, any connection with Kūkai would be difficult for either temple to verify beyond any doubt. The general tendency seems to be to recognize Zentsū-ji as the birthplace: The application to the Japanese government by the 88 temples, in cooperation with the four Prefectures of Shikoku, for recognition as a World Heritage Site in 2007 (which had been turned down at that time, but they keep working on this) states that Zentsū-ji is the place where Kūkai was born[138]. Also supportive is that the Reijōkai, since 1 April 2000 (Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 31), has its head office at a building next to the parking lot of pilgrimage temple #75, Zentsū-ji[139].

However, recent studies by Takeuchi Kōzen go one step further: in his book *Kōbō Daishi Kūkai no kenkyū* ('Studies on Kōbō Daishi Kūkai', 2006), he argues that Kūkai had neither been born nor raised at either of these two locations, but in fact in Kyoto. Kūkai's mother was from the Ato family, who resided in Uzumasa-city in Kyoto in Yamashiro no kuni[140]. Travel between Kyoto and Sanuki no kuni[141] would have been very difficult, so, practically, it would have been difficult for such a marriage to have taken place. But of course they did marry, so he proposes that Kūkai's father had spent some time in Kyoto (or the surrounding Kansai area) in his youth, met Tamayori there, both fell in love, married and lived there. Also, Kūkai's uncle, Ōtari, was a teacher at the court (and he expected his nephew to follow in his footsteps and become a court official, too), which was the highest respected profession at that time. His brothers and sisters all received high positions in the government, too, which shows that they all had received an excellent education, which would simply not have been possible if they had resided in Shikoku. In fact, according to Takeuchi, there is no document which proves that Lady Tamayori had ever lived on Shikoku. Indeed, it is also a fact that Kūkai had received a very high

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[138] See http://www.pref.ehime.jp/h12900/sekaibunkaisan/2007/11.pdf , page 1, item (1), second paragraph.

[139] By letting the Reijōkai-association use their facilities, the temple assures its continuous support; this becomes important when, for example, there are disputes over whether Kaigan-ji or Zentsū-ji is the original birthplace of Kōbō Daishi, and it ensures that the Reijōkai would continue to side in favour of the latter.

[140] To be precise, the city of Kyoto is located in a valley, which forms a part of the Yamashiro Basin. Uzumasa is a part of Kyoto-city now.

[141] Present-day Kagawa-Prefecture.

education, which would not have been available in Shikoku[142]; in particular, even if he had left Sanuki at the age of 15, this would not have given him enough time to learn all that was required to succeed at the entrance examination during such a short time to enter the governmental university examination in 791 in Nara[143], which he did at the age of eighteen (Shiba, 2005: 25). In any case, it is a noteworthy fact that in all of his writings, Kūkai himself only mentioned two places on Shikoku where he had visited, when he was 19 and then 20 years old, and which have a connection to this pilgrimage, as will be explained below.

However, speaking against Takeuchi's argumentation is that the governor of a part of Sanuki was the one who requested that Kūkai be sent to repair the Mannō-ike water reservoir[144] with these words in a letter to the governor of the court of the Emperor (see also plate 9):

> Now the head of the county office tells me that the monk Kūkai is a native of *Tado County* [in what is now Kagawa, on Shikoku]. He [Kūkai] is a man of exemplary conduct and his fame… is unsurpassed. They say that, when he sits in meditation in the mountains, the birds build nests on him and animals grow tame… The people look forward to seeing him. If he stays, a crowd of students assembles around him; if he goes, a multitude follows him. Farmers yearn for him as they do for their parents. If they hear that the master is coming, they run out in haste to welcome him (quoted in Hakeda, 1972: 52-53; similar is mentioned in Shiba, 2005: 278; italics by me).

Byōbuga-ura*,* Kūkai's reputed birth-place, is located in this Tado County in Sanuki, Shikoku, so this letter does in fact say that Kūkai came from Shikoku, and so this would be a strong evidence for this claim.

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[142] However, Shiba argues that the Saeki's would have been rich enough to afford their own Confucian scholar from the capital to live with them in Sanuki (2005: 12).

[143] In 784, the capital was transferred from Nara (then called Heijō) to Nagaoka, and in 794 from Nagaoka to Heian (which is in the centre of present-day Kyoto); most parts of the university remained located in the old capital Nara.

[144] The grand Mannō-ike dam[144] (lat. 34.164, long. 133.87, alt. 145m, on Shikoku), measuring 19.7 km in circumference, and 21 m at its deepest, now irrigating 4,600 hectares of paddy fields (Shiba, 2005: 8-9) was repaired by Kūkai in 821 (allegedly during three months) by the order of Saga Tennō, and with the remainder of the funds that he had received for this, he is said to have constructed the temple Kanno-ji (now classified as *bekkaku* #17) next to it. A simple dam had originally been built by the ruler of Sanuki (now Kagawa Prefecture), Lord Michimosa, during 701-704, which was destroyed by floods in 816, so that the extensive rebuilding-work by Kūkai laid the foundation for a proper dam.

Plate 9: A larger-than-life-statue of Kōbō Daishi is watching from *bekkaku*-temple #17, Kanno-ji, down towards the temple's entrance gate and the Mannō-ike dam; the banners read "*Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*", "I put my faith in Daishi, the Universal Adamantine Illuminator" (transl. Shiba, 2005: 284; this is similar to the translation on page 3), the same as is written on the back of the pilgrim's vest and the straw-hat; photograph taken on 13 April 2008

In Nara, he was not satisfied with his intellectual studies, and happened to meet the Buddhist monk Gonsō, who explained to him the Buddhist traditions, and who gave him instructions for engaging in a ritual esoteric practice, devoted to the deity Kokuzō *Bosatsu* (Ākāśagarbha *Bodhisattva*). This esoteric practice is called *Kokuzō gumonji no hō*, the *Morning Star Meditation*, which Mao tried, aged 19, unsuccessfully, at a place believed to be near[145] temple #21, Tairyū-ji (The Temple of the Great Dragon), in Awa no kuni[146], Shikoku Island. It is now named Shashingatake[147] (see plate 10 on page 105).

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[145] Presumably at a lonely and elevated small hilltop spot at lat. 33.87785, long. 134.51945, alt. 525m. There is a bronze statue of him in meditation now. I ascended this place on 26 October 2010 and found that this spot has an unobstructed view of the Morning Star.

[146] Present-day Tokushima-Prefecture.

[147] 舎心ヶ嶽.

Plate 10: A view of the ‘Shashingatake’-mountain-peak where Kōbō Daishi is believed to have engaged in the *kokuzō gumonji no hō* at #21; photograph taken on 26 October 2010

Then, continuing his journey, he conducted it again, this time successfully, near temple #24, Hotsu-Misaki-ji (The Temple of Cape Muroto), in Tosa no kuni[148] at the place now named Mikuro-dō [149, 150, 151]. Both places, near #21 and near #24, are confirmed in his own writing[152]: “*Kokuzō gumonji no hō*… I recited the mantra… I climbed up Mount Tairyū[153] in Awa Province and meditated at Cape Muroto in

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[148] Present-day Kōchi Prefecture.

[149] 御蔵洞.

[150] Lat 33.2516, long 134.1807, alt 15m; it is close to the coastline, and I measured its direction: also 79 degrees, that is, it also faces the Morning Star.

[151] Why did he choose to practice at this spot? This place, in particular, the dark and frightening long cave, is regarded in regional folk-belief as one of the entrances to *jōdō-e,* the Pure Land of Amida-butsu (Amitābha-Buddha). I have been all the way to its dead end (literally) twice in 2009.

[152] Rev. Higashimoto Ryūshō, head priest of *bekkaku* temple #20, Ōtaki-ji, told me, when I visited there on 14 April 2008, that Mao also successfully completed the *Kokuzō gumonji no hō* ritual there in 815, in order to ward off any evil during his *yakudoshi* (misfortune)-year. (see note 182 on page 120). However, Kūkai does not mention this in his own writings, so I doubt this.

[153] In the Japanese Buddhist tradition temples are also sometimes called ‘mountain’; so *Mount* Tairyū could be understood as *Temple* Tairyū, and indeed the *nokyō-sho* oficer told me so on 5 December 2009 when I inquired there. This could perhaps be so – but we do not know for certain

Tosa."[154] Venus, or the *Morning Star*[155], is said to be the incarnation of the deity Kokūzō *Bosatsu* (Hakeda, 1972: 102), and the practitioner, meditating outside, usually under a tree or on a rocky cliff (as is the case at his Mikuro-dō), recites the following *mantra* of this deity one million times, until the morning star appears in the sky, and one will be able to memorise passages and understand the meaning of any scripture by "transporting" the practitioner into a certain level of *samādhi*, with a concentrated mind that does not wander.

Plate 11: The 'Mikuro-dō'-cave; photograph taken on 25 May 2009

The *mantra* is:

> Sanskrit transliteration: *Namo Ākāśagarbhāya oṃ ārya kamari mauli svāhā*
> Japanese Rōmaji: *nōbō akyasha kyarabaya on arikya mari bori sowaka*
> English:" In the name of Kokuzō [Ākāśagarbha], Om, the Flower-Garland Lotus Crown may be accomplished" (Awa Henro Guide, 1991: 183)
> or, in another English translation:
> "Homage to the Space-Container, who holds a flower garland, a lotus, and a jeweled crown, Om, all hail!" (Miyata, 1984: 35).

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that there was a temple at this stage, only ~250 years after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, and as I see it, the quote refers to no temple on the mountain or at the cape.

[154] Quoted from *Sangō-shīki,* end of second paragraph, in Hakeda, 1972: 102

[155] Of course Venus is actually a planet, not a star.

Gerald Koll reports that Shingon-priest Yamasaki Taikō had completed this Morning-Star-Meditation between 10 October and 13 November 1955, during which he meditated 20 hours and repeated this *mantra* 28,800 times daily. He thus had repeated the *mantra*, during 35 days, 1,008,000 times. Koll calculates that he must have repeated the *mantra* 24 times in each of his 42,000 minutes of his *gumonji-hō* meditation. For counting, Yamasaki had used a rosary bead and a board with holes and sticks[156] (Koll, 2011: 62[157]).

Mao wrote this about his experiences of the *Morning Star Meditation*:

> At eighteen, I entered the college in the capital and studied diligently. Meanwhile, a Buddhist monk showed me a scripture called *Kokuzō gumonji no hō*. In that work it is stated that if one recites the mystic verse [above *mantra*] one million times according to the proper method, one will be able to memorise passages and understand the meaning of any scripture. Believing what the Buddha says to be true, I recited the verse instantly, as if I were rubbing one piece of wood against another to make fire, all the while earnestly hoping to achieve this result (Kūkai, *Sangō-shīki*, preface, second paragraph, quoted in: Hakeda, 1972: 102).

In 793, when he was twenty years old (thus, after his also practising the *mantra* in Shikoku), under the tutelage of Gonsō, Mao decided to enter the monkhood under him at Makinosan-temple in Izumi (today known as Sefuku-ji in Izumi City, Osaka Prefecture); in a status called *ubasoku*, a privately ordained novice mendicant (*upāsaka* in P. and Skt., a devout lay-person). However, this practice was banned by the government. Later he changed his name to *Kūkai* on the occasion of his full and officially approved ordination ceremony at the Todai-ji temple in Nara. *Kūkai* consists of the syllable *kū*, meaning *sky*, and the syllable *kai*, meaning *ocean*, which could symbolize being as powerful and unhinderable as the sky and the ocean, and free, not bound by form, and not obstructed by any objects, as the ocean as well as the air in the sky float around obstacles without hindrance, and perhaps a connection to the 'Space-Container' *Bodhisattva* he revered.

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[156] Which is the way to do it, as I was told by Rev. Kinoshita Tokiko of temple #1 on 12 December 2009 upon inquiry.

[157] The page number refers to the manuscript of Koll's book *Henro boke: Pilgern auf Japanisch* ('*Henro boke*: Pilgrimage in Japanese', 2011), which is, at the time of writing this thesis, in the process of publication. He had been so kind to provide me with his manuscript for this thesis.

In 797, when he was twenty-four year old, he wrote his first work, *Indications of the Three Teachings* (Jp. *Sangō-shīki*) as an explanation to those who opposed his decision to give up his promising career for his monkhood, and also to show the superiority of Buddhism over Confucianism and Taoism (Hakeda, 1972: 24). In *Sangō-shīki*, he writes:

> I climbed up Mount Tairyū in Awa Province [now Tokushima Prefecture], and meditated at Cape Muroto in Tosa [now Kōchi Prefecture[158]]. The valley reverberated to the sound of my voice as I recited, and the planet Venus appeared in the sky.
>
> From that time on, I despised fame and wealth and longed for a life in the midst of nature. Whenever I saw articles of luxury – light furs, well-fed horses, swift vehicles – I felt sad, knowing that, being transient as lightning, they too would fade away. Whenever I saw a cripple or a beggar, I lamented and wondered what had caused him to spend his days in such a miserable state. Seeing these piteous conditions encouraged me to renounce the world. Can anyone now break my determinations? No, just as there is no one who can stop the wind. (quoted from *Sangō-shīki*, preface, third and fourth paragraph*,* in: Hakeda, 1972: 102).

I could not locate any clear indication as to why he might have chosen to go to Shikoku for meditative and ascetic practice. It might, after all, indicate that he was born in Shikoku, and wanted to return to his home-country – as these were times of unrest in the capital where he had been studying (Hakeda, 1972: 18-19).

His early life as a monk was spent studying many Buddhist scriptures under his teacher Gonsō at the Daian-ji temple in Nara as well as being a wandering ascetic. He wrote about this kind of ascetic lifestyle in the *Sangō-shīki*[159]*:*

> There was a man called Kamei-kotsuji (Mendicant X)… The blue sky was the ceiling of this hut and the clouds hanging over the mountains were his curtains; he did not need to worry about where he lived or where he slept. In summer he opened his neck band in a relaxed mood and delighted in the gentle breezes as though he were a great king, but in winter he watched the fire with his neck drawn into his shoulders. If he had enough horse chestnuts and bitter vegetables for ten days, he was lucky. His bare shoulders showed through his paper robe and his clothes padded with grass cloth… Though his appearance was laughable, his deep-rooted will could not be taken away from him… Not being obliged to his father or elder brothers and having no

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[158] These are both in Shikoku.

[159] Harada explains: "Kūkai seems to have utilized his personal experiences as the basis for the description of Kamei-kotsuji, Mendicant X." (1972: 121, note 67).

> contact with his relatives, he wandered throughout the country like duckweed floating on water or dry grass blown by the wind (*Sangō-shīki, part iii*, the argument of Kamei-Kotsuji, first paragraph, quoted in: Hakeda, 1972: 120-139).

This preference for retreat in nature might have been one of the reasons for choosing the isolated Mount Kōya as a place to build his head-monastery later.

In order to deepen his studies, he felt it necessary to leave his master Gonsō, and to sail to T'ang China**,** where he stayed 804-806, together with monk Saichō (767-822)[160], who later founded the Tendai (Ch.T'ien T'ai） school in Japan. From the four ships that sailed off from Japan, only two arrived at China after a one month long journey – one with Kūkai and one with Saichō. The other two and their crew and passengers were lost in the rough seas.

In China's capital, Ch'ang-an, Kūkai became a disciple of Hui-kuo (Jp. Keika), the seventh patriarch of esoteric Buddhism [161], who, according to his writing, immediately accepted him as his disciple and soon gave him *abhişeka* (originating in India, the initiation ceremony of sprinkling holy water on the head of the disciple by the master, Jp. *kanjō*) and *Dharma*-transmission.

Subsequently, aged only 32, Kūkai became Hui-Kuo's *Dharma*-successor, making him the eighth patriarch of esoteric Buddhism. Hui-kuo instructed Kūkai in the essentials of esoteric Buddhist theory and practice and gave him the religious name *Henjō Kongō*, meaning *Universally Illuminating Adamantine One (Vajra)*. This can be found in the chanting of this *mantra* by the pilgrims of the 88-temple pilgrimage, when they visit the Daishi-Hall, where a statue (*honzon*) of Kōbō Daishi is enshrined: *Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō, Homage to the Saviour Daishi, the Illuminating and Imperishable One*! (Miyata, 1984: 33). This is also written on the pilgrimage staff (*kongō tsue*).

Having achieved this goal of authentication as eighth Patriarch, he acquired great

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[160] Abé explains that Saichō started to study Shingon Buddhism under Kūkai in 809 (1999: 44).

[161] As described by Kūkai in his writing *Shōrai Mokuroku*, *A Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported sūtras and Other Items*, in the first to third paragraphs (in Hakeda, 1972: 140f.).

quantities of Buddhist scriptures and utensils, in order to present them to the Japanese Emperor Saga upon his return (earlier than promised to the Court), because the Emperor's support was crucial if a new sect was to be established in Japan, as Saichō, who had come back, was already winning support at Court. Finally, Emperor Saga presented Kūkai upon his request in 816 with the 985 metres high Mount Kōya near Kyoto, to build his monastic head temple Okunoin there. Kūkai asked for this site by writing to the Emperor in a letter:

> When I was a boy, I liked to walk around mountains. Walking a day southward from Yoshino and two days westwards, I found a mysterious plain which I named Kōya[162]… The plain is surrounded by high mountains on four sides and no human trail can be seen. I am anxious to clear wild bushes and to build a temple which will be for the state and for all ascetic practitioners. I hope that you will consent to give this place and that my desire will soon be fulfilled (quoted in Awa Henro, 1991: 23).

Kūkai can be said to have had great influence in establishing firm ground for Buddhism in the Heian-Period (794-1192). It was a period in Japanese history in which an unprecedented peace and security was predominant, allowing for the extensive development of Japanese culture and religion. Unlike the Buddhism of the Nara-Period of Japan (710-794), in which genuinely Chinese-type forms predominated, Kūkai's religion better fitted the Japanese character, and nationalistic ideals of that time, and thus contributed to the revival of Japanese self-consciousness, consequently securing the support of the Japanese: the Emperor, the aristocracy, as well as the common people.

Kūkai also established the first tuition free private educational academy for commoners (Shugeishuchi-in)[163] in Kyoto. The official Kyoto city homepage adds that it was established by Kūkai in an estate that he had received from Fujiwara Mitsumori (774-835) (Kyoto city, 2009: URL). On a commemorative plate by the Kyoto City on location there[164], the reason for this institution is explained in English (and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean): "The Shugeishuchi-in was established in the

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[162] Although there is a Yoshino-river in Tokushima-Prefecture, Shikoku, there is no indication that he meant that he could have found this area when he was a boy on Shikoku Island; the 'walking a day southward from Yoshino and two days westwards …' points to an area south of the southern part of Nara-Prefecture on the mainland, what would today be Wakayama-Prefecture, in other words, it refers to what he did closer in time to when he wrote this letter.

[163] Lat. 34.983, long. 135.75242, alt. 39m, in Kyoto.

[164] Which I inspected there on 18 June 2011.

year 828 by Kukai (Kobo Daishi). It is well known as a private educational academy from the early Heian Period. At that time, entrance into universities and national schools (all state-run) was very strict and limited to certain social classes. It was thus extremely difficult for the average person to receive an education. The Shugeishuchi-in was established to help these people realize their ambitions". However, after Kūkai died in 835, it was soon after closed and sold by his disciples (Kyoto city, 2009: URL).

Kūkai is believed to have discovered many hot springs and gold mines, instructed people in the use of coal, and in constructing dams, bridges and roads. He is also believed to have invented the Japanese syllable system *hiragana*, which was then taken up by the female population, and used in the famous novel *Genji Monogatari* (*Tale of Genji*) by the first Japanese female writer, Lady Murasaki Shikibu (978- ca. 1025), and Abé pictures him as a:

> miracle-working mendicant who trotted every corner of the islands of Japan, healing the sick, punishing the wicked, and rewarding the righteous. One of the numerous legendary claims for Kūkai is that he discovered and made public the hidden identity between the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, the ancestral deity of the imperial house enshrined at the grand Shinto complex of Isa, and the Buddha Mahāvairocana, the central divinity of the Mikkyō maṇḍala. Kūkai was also said to have invented kana, the Japanese phonetic orthography, and the Iroha, the kana syllabry. In the Iroha table, the kana letters are arranged in such a manner as to form a waka [Japanese poem style] that plainly expresses the Buddhist principle of emptiness. (1999: 3)

Kūkai, believed to having wandered all around Shikoku, was soon related not only to many temples[165], but also local places, which, in turn gained status and popularity: an alleged connection to Kūkai directly resulted in increase in status[166]. One example is the *toyoga-bashi*, *the bridge of the ten nights*[167], of which the legend goes as follows: During his wandering around Shikoku, on a cold winter's day, Kūkai asked at every house for accommodation for the night, but was refused everywhere. Finally, he could only find shelter under a bridge, where he slept. Originally a wooden bridge, it

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[165] Reader writes that "since the appearance of Shinnen's collection [such as *Shikoku henro michishirube* ('Shikoku pilgrimage route') in 1687], others have appeared, and many temples in Shikoku have developed their own collections of miracle tales [connections to Kōbō Daishi]" (in Tanabe (ed.), 1999: 362).

[166] See note 165.

[167] Long. 33.53185, lat. 132.5751, alt. 16m. The hardship of the night felt like "ten nights", thus the name.

had been destroyed many times by floods of the Hijikawa-river, and is now constructed out of concrete. There is a stone image of Kōbō Daishi, sleeping under the bridge, wrapped in *futons,* which are renewed as appropriate by the local villagers; it is called *nojuku-Daishi*, *the Daishi sleeping overnight in the wilderness of nature*. Contemporary pilgrims sleeping outside also do what is called *nojuku.*

Plate 12: The statue of *nojuku*-o-Daishi-*sama*, sleeping under the *toyoga-bashi, the bridge of the ten nights*, wrapped in futons; photograph taken on 11 April 2008

Later, a temple was established near it, Eitoku-ji temple, now *bekkaku* temple #8, which is often included in the bus 88-temple pilgrimage tours as an extra-stop. I visited there on 11 April and again on 7 December 2009 and inquired at the *nōkyō-sho* about the oldest written document that this story appears in but was referred each time to the temple's pamphlet with the words that this is a true matter for the pilgrim which needs not be verified any further with sources. Of course, in 815, he would have already been a famous monk – so it would have been unlikely that he had been turned away by villagers then, unless they had no means of recognizing him. This is a fascinating aspect about local constructions and understandings of the pilgrimage: For someone visiting the *bridge of ten nights*, it is not important to verify when or where this was first textually mentioned to locate the origin of this story, or whether indeed this could have happened to such a famous monk: they probably assume or 'know' that Kōbō Daishi had spent a lonely night there in 815 – so any verification is uninteresting, since this had indeed happened, in their understanding, in 815. That is an interesting way to look at how informants – temple officials and pilgrims – understand matters.

A hundred days, as it is commonly believed, before his death, Kūkai was called by his disciple, Prince Shinnyo, to be portrayed and painted in a ritual manner (*omie*), holding a five-pointed *vajra*, (*goko-shō*), in his right hand, symbolising the power of wisdom of Dainichi *Nyorai* (Great Sun *Tathāgata*, i.e. Vairocana (Jp. Bairushana)), and rosary beads (*juzu*) in his right hand, sitting on the chair of the patriarchs, with the holy shoes and the vase with sacred water of wisdom front of him[168].

Shortly after the completion of this painting, he delivered his last will to his monks at Mount Kōya:

> At first I thought I should live till I was a hundred years old and convert all the people, but now that you are all grown up there is no need for my life to be prolonged, and I shall leave for eternal Samādhi on the 21st day on next month, March 835. But you need by no means grieve, for my spiritual force will still be alive here. Even after entering into the eternal meditation, I will save all sentient beings, accompanied by Maitreya Bodhisattva [Miroko *Bosatsu*], in the Tuşita Heaven. Surely I will return here again with the Bodhisattva, 5,670 million years later. Until you cease your suffering on Earth, I will carefully watch you and save you from such suffering. Please put your faith in the Three Treasures [Buddha, *Dharma*, *Saṅgha*] all the way. Those who do not follow the path of my teaching will stumble into the bank of suffering. Those who put their faith in the path of Buddha will be saved. Behold! Even after ascending to heaven, recite the mantra of Gohōgō[169] daily and heartily whenever you have struggles or pain. I will still remain on your side on the earth – at every place around the world, throughout the kalpa [eon] of history. Until the time of my return, my mission won't be ended at all! (in Miyata, 2006: 31; a plate of Kūkai's last will is reproduced in Shiba, 2005: vii; the time until Kūkai will appear again is also given in Tanabe, 1998: 417).

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[168] No other paintings or sculptures of Kūkai were ever produced in his life-time, so all works of art picturing him are entirely based on this one painting.

[169] It is "Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō". See also plate 1 on page 3.

It is commonly said that, as predicted by himself, on the 15th day of the third month in 835, he went to a predetermined room where he assumed the *kekkafuza* posture (full lotus *zazen* meditation posture), placed his hands into *hokai-jo-in* (the meditation *mudrā*) and sat *zazen*, remained in this state, and then he entered what is referred to as *nyūjō* (eternal adamantine meditation) six days later on the 21st at around 4[170] o'clock in the morning. Followers say that even now he is sitting in full lotus, meditating, still alive, in his mausoleum (*gobyō*) in the compound of Okunoin-temple of Mount Kōya, where his final resting place is. This painting illustrates this:

Plate 13: Carrying the still meditating Kūkai to his mausoleum. Artwork by order of Kōya-san Head monastery, unknown artist, however, the structure of the paper reveals that artwork was produced during the Edo-Period (1603-1868). Collection of the Hōju-in temple. At the upper left hand corner his mausoleum can be seen (Tokushima Shimbun, 2004: 24)

Shiba describes the mausoleum:

> The hall dedicated to Kūkai, as we see it today, is a wooden structure crowned with a pyramid-shaped roof thatched with layers of cypress bark, though it is not known if this is the original style carefully preserved every time it was reconstructed. It houses a five-pieced tombstone, under which a cellar is supposed to exist… As for the cellar that constitutes the sanctuary,…: underground about five metres deep…, made of stone, about 1.8 cubic metres in size, containing a cabinet with Kūkai on a supreme plane of meditation; the ceiling of stone about one metre thick is covered with a layer of earth upon which a five-pieced tombstone stands; the whereabouts of the entrance door is unknown,… it was locked and buried forever so that no one could enter it again (2005: 286-7).

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[170] The time might not be taken literally: 'Four' has a significant meaning in Japanese Buddhism, as it has the same reading as 'death' – as much as 'Shikoku' can be read 'Four Countries' or 'Death Country' or 'Country of the Dead', as this thesis explains on pages 238-255**.**


Plate 14: The mausoleum *(gobyō)* of Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai) on Mount Kōya. Photography is not usually allowed here and this picture was taken by special permission on 23 April 2007

While it is not directly part of this thesis, I would just like to point here to the Buddhist cult of relics, and the significance of mummified bodies, such as Hui-neng (Jap. Enō) (638-713), the sixth Ch'an master in China, and other Ch'an masters who followed his example (with varying success), and even erecting their own *stūpa*s for their bodies to be placed in upon their death and subsequent mummification (Faure, 1992: 153). In Japan, the ashes of Nichiren (1222-82) were placed in an urn next to his statue, and the statue of Rinzai-Zen-master Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481) is believed to have used the master's own hair on the head, eyebrows and chin of his statue (Willa Tanabe, 1998: 415f.)[171]. The difference here is that Kūkai was not mummified,

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[171] Parallels to Mount Kōya and its temples and mausoleum of Kōbō Daishi, with him believed to be present here on earth and spiritually "walking together with the pilgrim" (*dōgyō ninin*), can not only be found in the Asian Buddhist tradition, but also Western Christianity:

> By the end of the sixth century, the graves of the saints, which lay in the cemetery areas outside the walls of most of the cities of the former Western Empire, had become centres of the ecclesiastical life in their region. This was because the saint in Heaven was believed to be in "present" at this tomb on earth. The soul of Saint Martin, for instance, might go "marching on"… (Brown, 1982: 3)… *Praesentia*, the physical presence of the holy, …was the greatest blessing that the late-antique Christian could enjoy. For… the *praesentia* on which such enthusiasm focused was the presence of an invisible person. The devotees who flocked out of Rome to the shrine of Saint Lawrence, to ask for his favor or to place their dead near his grave, were not merely going to a place; they were going to meet a person (88).

he is believed to be alive, in his mausoleum, with his hair and nails growing (Hoshino, 1997: 294; Shiba, 2005: 286): Priests in residence still bring him offerings of fruit every day, and offer fresh robes once a year (Tanabe, 1998: 417). As regards the appropriateness of this, Shiba quotes a young priest of Mount Kōya in this regard, who told him: “There is no need to know that” (Shiba, 2005: 285). Thousands of graves, old and new, around the mausoleum were built by influential people (as the lot for the grave bears a hefty premium price-tag), so that they could be near his tomb. So, it is not about knowing, but all about *believing*: this is similar to the *bridge of ten nights* mentioned above. The Shikoku pilgrims, who also visit the Okunoin mausoleum, go there with their prayers and wishes, feeling that they meet Kōbō Daishi at his resting place, where he is exactly believed to be that: *resting*, not dead[172].

In 921, the Emperor Daigo (January 18 885-October 23 930) bestowed upon him the posthumous honorific title Kōbō Daishi (Iwano, 1991: 195, 207; Miyata, 2006: 34). ‘Kōbō’ means ‘To spread the *Dharma* widely’ and ‘Daishi’ means ‘Great Teacher’; so ‘Kōbō Daishi’ means: ‘The Great Teacher Who Spreads the *Dharma* Widely’. This demonstrates the fact that in his final years, Kūkai had become one of the most prominent leaders of the Japanese Buddhism, and was of great influence in shaping the relationship between the government and the Buddhist community. The bestowing of the title ‘Kōbō Daishi’ shows that there was a connection between the

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[172] Another interesting story of Kōbō Daishi as being ‘alive’ is illustrated in the following example, experienced personally by me: At temple #88, Ōkubo-ji, the last of the 88 temples, there lived a very quiet and well-behaved cat that would often greet the pilgrims. It was said to be a ‘manifestation’ of Kōbō Daishi, who, through this cat, shows appreciation and respect, and says thank you, to the pilgrims. Later this cat died, but now, at temple #80, Kokubun-ji, close-by, is a cat who is badly behaved in the sense that when pilgrims try to use a hair-dryer to dry their *kakejiku* (a common practice, nearly all temples provide a hair-dryer for this purpose at the *nōkyō-sho*, as the ink on the *kakejiku* would take a long time to dry without the use of a hot stream of air), it jumps up on the table where pilgrims place the *kakejiku* and use the dryer and walks over the freshly painted calligraphy. This endangers the fresh calligraphy by spreading the ink, smeared on the feet of the cat, over the *kakejiku*. Temple officials commonly advise the pilgrim not to use the hot air, as the *kakejiku* is thought akin to the “skin of the Daishi”, and would thus burn, just as a human skin would be burnt if the hot air of a hair dryer would be applied to it from close-by over a longer period of time. The traditional way of drying the *kakejiku* is to carry it, rolled up in a way that the new calligraphy is facing outwards, walking, and thus having it dry through the open air. It is said that this cat is a ‘manifestation’ of Kōbō Daishi, teaching the pilgrims to carry and dry the *kakejiku* in the traditional way. But, of course, being ‘manifested’ as a cat is a different idea from being somehow alive in his original human body, or maybe it is just a cat, trying to get the pilgrims’ attention or playing with them naughty games. Nevertheless, these stories illustrate how important and how present Kōbō Daishi is in the minds of the people of Shikoku.

Imperial Court, including the Emperor, and the Shingon sect along with the devoted followers of Kōbō Daishi. Based on my own experiences of Buddhism in Japan, I can say that such matters don't come for free, not even honorific titles awarded by the Emperor. In fact, it is fair to say that it is beneficial to both sides, the Imperial Court honouring a famous religious leader and thus gaining some borrowed prestige from this, and the school with its followers thus being able to demonstrate their official acceptance and approval by the government without any doubt. At least one could say that the act of awarding such honorific titles builds goodwill for all concerned. Such titles were given to many sect leaders in Japan, over time: Altogether, the title *Daishi* has been granted to twenty-four priests/monks in Japan by the Emperors, but it must be pointed out that by far the most famous *Daishi* in Japan is Kōbō Daishi (Arai, 1973: 51). This shows how much the image of Kōbō Daishi has become larger-than-life, not only because he was the founder of Shingon-*shū*, and not only because of all that he had added to the Japanese culture, but also with all the miracles and wondrous tales about him, and being believed by his followers to be alive in his mausoleum on Mount Kōya in eternal meditation. Therefore, he is also referred to in English by some as *Saviour Daishi* (Miyata, 2006: 147), which corresponds to *o-Daishi-sama*[173] in Japanese; priests, *sendatsu* and many pilgrims and locals generally call him *o-Daishi-san*, which, as I understand it, is not less respectful, but shows how close he is to them. This will be further taken up on pages 153-154 and 207.

One Shikoku-pilgrimage example shall illustrate this faith in *o-Daishi-sama*: temple #35 Kiyotaki-ji, The Temple of the Clean Waterfall, which was, according to the temple history, established by Gyōki *Bosatsu* in 723, who is also believed to have enshrined the *honzon* that he had carved there, naming it Kei-zan (*sangō*) Mitsu-in (*ingō*) Takumoku-ji (*jigō*). Later, sometime between 810 and 820, Kūkai is believed to have come 300 metres north of the temple, where he built a platform and practised for 7 days. By the end of this, he stuck his *kongō-tsue* stick into the ground at the edge of the platform, and water spread out; the clear water forming a mirror-like pond. So the mountain name (*sangō*) was changed to Iō-zan, and temple name was changed into Kyōchi-in (*ingō*) and Kiyotaki-ji (*jigō*), *Mirror-like-in* and *Clear Waterfall-ji*. The clean water that is said to have originated in Kūkai's religious act

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[173] '*o*' as well as '*sama*' are Japanese honorofics.

has been very suitable for the production of traditional Japanese paper (*washi*), which could prosper here. In December 1933, a washi-production company donated an imposing, 15 metre high statue of Yakushi *Nyorai*[174], on the occasion of the 1,200th anniversary of Kōbō Daishi's entering into eternal meditation, as per inscription[175]. This illustrates not only the connection between local businesses and the pilgrimage temples, but most of all it is an example of the common belief that if one puts all trust in the *o-Daishi-sama*, one's life will turn to be good and prosperous. Such motives of pilgrims are analysed in this thesis.

As much as the mausoleum on the isolated Mount Kōya is far away from the major cities (see map 1) with 300 priests and novices (as of 2009[176]) in residence, it has become a pilgrimage place. Shikoku pilgrims are advised to visit Mount Kōya as the final step and to receive a stamp and seal there, preferably at both the Okunoin where his mausoleum is as well as the Kongōbu-ji head temple[177]: "The pilgrim who has completed the henro circuit of Shikoku must make a benefactory report of his pilgrimage to the Daishi here and receive the seal of his temple on his Nōkyō-chō (sealed booklet). This is the place of concluding your henro" (Miyata, 2006: 147).

All 88 pilgrimage temples have a Daishi-hall[178], where pilgrims venerate o-Daishi-*sama*, even if the temples do not belong to Shingon, such as temples #11, Fuji-dera and #33, Sekkei-ji (both Rinzai), #15, Kokubun-ji (Sōtō), #43, Meiseki-ji (Tendai) and #78, Gōshō-ji (Ji). It would be interesting to find out when *daishi-dō* were added to the pilgrimage temples, as Chōzen[179] only mentioned 12 *daishi-dō* in his writings in 1653 (Reader, 2005: 114). Many of the *Daishi-dō* used to be dedicated to Gyōki *Bosatsu* before the end of the 17th century, and the Daishi-faith in effect grew in the late 17th century. This shows that Kōbō Daishi's importance for the pilgrimage has grown over time. *Daishi-dō* will be further addressed on pages 151-155.

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[174] Long 33.5127, lat. 133.4095, alt. 35m.

[175] Donated by Mr. Tokuhira Gentaro of Kōchi city and all the employees of Kōchijōsaidaishikō, under the then head-priest Itō Shōgakudai, and constructed by Mr. Yokoya (first name unreadable).

[176] Information delivered by the head priest of #5, Jizō-ji, Okamoto Jishō at a lecture at the *sendatsu*-training seminar on 3 December 2009 at #75, Zentsū-ji.

[177] When I stayed on Mount Kōya at the *shukubō* of Fukuchi-ji temple on 23 April 2007, I was told that it would be correct to receive stamps at both of these places, which I subsequently did.

[178] 大師堂, *daishi-dō*.

[179] Priest Chōzen (1612-680) had complied details of the Shikoku pilgrimage in his book *Shikoku henro nikki* in 1653 (Moreton, 2001: 4).

The connection of Kōbō Daishi with the origin of the pilgrimage and its temples – the Daishi *shinkō* (faith)

Plate 15: Emon Saburō taking refuge to the 'Saint' Kōbō Daishi[180] (on his alms round), photograph taken at temple #77, Dōryū-ji, on 20 March 2007

The figure of Kōbō Daishi is omnipresent throughout the entire island, with many statues erected, and with each temple now having a separate *daishi-dō* (*Daishi Hall*), in front of which pilgrims usually offer a candle and some incense, recite his *mantra* '*Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*'; also, as mentioned above, '*dōgyō ninin*', '*Two are (spiritually) walking together*' is inscribed on the clothes and the bag for utensils,

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[180] Reader also refers in his 'Pilgrimage as a cult: the Shikoku pilgrimage as a window on Japanese religion' to Kōbō Daishi as 'Saint' (in Peter Kornicki and James McMullen (eds.), 1996, 267-285: 270).

which hangs around the neck of many pilgrims [181].

I found that many pilgrims believe that not only do they walk in 'his footsteps' but that this pilgrimage was established by him (the prevalence of this idea is also confirmed by Tanaka Hiroshi, 1981: 241). Rutherford also expresses this belief: in Shikoku,"… devout Buddhist pilgrims [are] making the rounds of the 88 holy temples and shrines established on Shikoku by priest Kōbō Daishi some 1,200 years ago" (2003: 309). MacGregor affirms that tradition claims that Kōbō Daishi founded the pilgrimage in 815 (2002: 10). This is supported even by governmental publications, such as the government homepage of Tokushima-Prefecture (temples #1-#23 are located within Tokushima Prefecture), which explains the reason why he founded it: "The Shikoku pilgrimage circuit, called *henro* in Japanese, links 88 temples said to have been founded around the year 815 by the famous Buddhist monk Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai) to protect pilgrims and others from misfortune" (2009: URL). Nakamura Hiroshi (no year given: 32), too, writes that Kūkai established the 88 pilgrimage temple sites when he was 42 years old (i.e. in the year 816) in his *yakudoshi*-year[182]. Shiraki and Yoritomi however argue that this cannot be regarded as a historical fact (2001: 16). I agree that this seems unlikely, because he would have been very busy, for example, in 810, the Emperor Saga had appointed him as administrative head of the Tōdai-ji temple in Kyoto (a position that would later be named *kanchō*, a term created by the Meiji government, the *chief abbot of a sect*, responsible for its administration). Also, in 816, the Emperor granted Kūkai permission to build a monastic centre (which was to become the head monastery of the Shingon school) on the isolated Mount Kōya in present-day Wakayama

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[181] Pointing to the spiritual /religious practice aspect of the pilgrimage, Ian Reader, in his 'Legends, Miracles, and Faith in Kōbō Daishi and the Shikoku Pilgrimage' (in Tanabe (ed.), 1999, *Religions of Japan in Practice*: 360-369) translates *dōgyō ninin* as *two people, one practice* (361).

[182] Pilgrimage temple #23, Yakuō-ji, the Temple of Yakushi Nyorai, is the best example for 厄年 *yakudoshi*. As its alleged temple history goes, it was built by Gyōki *Bosatsu* in 726 under order of Shōmu *Tennō*, however, it was not very successful until re-opened by Kōbō Daishi in 815, when he visited there by the order of Heijo-Tennō (Emperor). He as well as the Tennō were 42 years old at that time, a critical age, called *yakudoshi* (*misfortune year,* for men it is 42, for women 33, and for both also 61), and he had been ordered to pray there for keeping especially illness, but also other misfortunes, away from the Tennō. It is one of Japan's most famous temples, if not the *most* famous temple, for praying at one's *yakudoshi*-year. More than 1,000,000 believers are counted to visit it every year, according to the temple literature. There is a stairway with 33 steps for women (*onna-yaku-zaka, women yaku slope*), and one with 42 steps for men (*otoko-yaku-zaka, men yaku slope*), where one is to put a ¥1-coin on every step, so as to ward off any evil happening.

Prefecture, South of Kyoto. This was also a time in his life during which he produced several important writings, such as commentaries to the *Hannya-Shingyō* sūtra. Based on these facts, it seems unlikely that he also had time to walk around Shikoku in 815/816, when he was 42 years old and establish the pilgrimage sites there. Even if he would have found time to engage in a circumambulation of Shikoku, this would have been a demanding task, as the nearest port of entry from Kyoto could only have been Muya in Naruto, and for this he would have had to cross the Naruto straits, which have the *Naruto no uzushio*, the *Naruto whirlpools*. I have observed these on several occasions (from a boat as well as from the Ōnaruto-hashi bridge), and they are very large and dangerous; such a trip would have been inadvisable for him as it would have been dangerous and have taken up too much of his time during this bust period in his life. Also, it is important to remember that Kūkai himself mentioned in his *Sangō-shīki*, that he had practised only at *two places* in Shikoku, generally associated with temples #21, Tairyū-ji, and near #24, Hotsumisaki-ji. The concept of *yakudoshi* is important for pilgrims' understanding of the pilgimage, though, as the transcription of the conversation at the *shukubō* of temple #38 and of the Ozaki-family show.

After having collected all the recently issued temple publications (simple pamphlets issued by the temples), which explain their official temple histories, and comparing the contents to the guidebooks[183] and the NHD video-series[184], the following becomes clear: 25 temples claim to be built by Kōbō Daishi[185,186], 17 temples claim an association with Kōbō Daishi, other than being built by him[187,188], Kōbō Daishi is

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[183] *Shikoku henro hitori aruku dōgyo ninin: Kūkai no shiseki o tasunete* ('Shikoku Pilgrim, Walking Alone, Two [Walking] Together: [let's] Visit the Historical Spots of Kūkai'), *Hachijūhakka-ji shūhen gaidobukku* ('The 88 Holy Places and Surrounding Area Guidebook'), *Awa Henro Bilingual Guidebooks for Pilgrims in Tokushima.*

[184] *Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho. Kokoro o tabi suru* ('Shikoku 88-Temple Pilgrimage. To Let the Spirit Go on a Trip').

[185] #5, #6, #7, #8, #9, #10, #12, #13, #14, # 25, #26, #27, #32, #33, #36, #38, #40, #41, #42, #57, #66, #70, #74, #75, #81.

[186] For example #5, Jizō-ji: Said to have been built in 811 by Kōbō Daishi on the order of Emperor Saga. The temple's name is derived from its *honzon*. Kōbō Daishi is said to have carved it when he built the temple. It is called an "Enmeijizo-Shogun *Bosatsu*" (a Jizō *Bosatsu* in samurai warrior's helmet and clothes, riding on a horse), only 5.6 cm tall. The full name is "*gentonise no enmei jizo bosatsu*", "*gen*" means "present", "*to*" means "future", and "*nise*" means both worlds", so "the Jizō *Bosatsu* for longevity of both, the present and the future world". A person by the name of Shōnin is said to have carved a 2 *shaku* 7 *sun* (ca. 50 cm) large Jizō *Bosatsu* as a new "*shōgun*" Jizō *honzon* for this temple and placed the original *honzon* by Kōbō Daishi inside its stomach. As it is a *hibutsu*, it is not shown to the public.

[187] #1, #2, #3, #4, #15, #17, #18, #20, #21, #22, #39, #52, #53, #59, #63, #65, #82.

believed to have taken control of 31 already existing temples or *dōjō*[189, 190], and to have reopened 9 (previously neglected) temples[191, 192]. He is believed to have added 1 temple to the already existing structure of #27[193], and no direct connection (other than that Kōbō Daishi is believed to have practised nearby) can be established for 5 temples[194, 195].

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[188] For example, #1, Ryōzen-ji: Said to be built in the Tenpyō Era of Japanese history (729-749) by Gyōki *Bosatsu* by order of Emperor Shōmu. The original name is not known. Later, Kōbō Daishi is believed to have stayed at this temple in 816 for religious practice. When he arrived at Naruto city on his way to this temple, he saw several shining and blinking Buddhas in the heavens. They reminded him of Shakuson ('Shakuson' is Japanese for the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni. This term has over the last years come to preferred use in Japan when referring to the founder of Buddhism), teaching in India at Vulture's Peak, so he carved the *honzon* and called the *sangō* of it *Jikuwa-zan* (*zan* means *mountain*), as another term for *tenjiku* meaning *South Asia*, in other words *India*. *Ryōzen* means *Vulture Peak*. Accordingly, Kōbō Daishi changed the name of the temple into *Jikuwa-zan Ryōzen-ji.*

[189] #16, #19, #29,# 34, #37, #44, #45, #47, #48, #50, #54, #55, #58, #60, #61, #64, #68, #69, #71, #72, #76, #77, #78, #79, #80, #83, #84, #85, #86, #87, #88.

[190] For example #16, Kanon-ji (actually, there are two pilgrimage temples by the name Kanon-ji: #16 in Tokushima and #69 in Kagawa): Said to have been established by order of Emperor Shōmu in 741 as a *dōjō*. Later, Kōbō Daishi came in 815, carved a Senju Kannon (Avalokiteşvara Bodhisattva with a thousand arms), and decided this to be a *honzon*, then he opened it as a temple.

[191] #23, #24, #30, #31, #43, #46, #51, #56, #62.

[192] For example #31, Chikurin-ji: Gyōki *Bosatsu* built this temple by the order of Shōmu *Tennō* in 724. The Emperor had an inspiration through a dream to build a temple to honour Monju *Bosatsu* (Mañjuśrī *Bodhisattva*) on a mountain whose shape would be similar to Mount Godai in China (Godai-san (Jp), Wu-t'ai-shan (Ch.) mountain range in Shan-si (Jap: Sansei) Province in China. This is his 'sacred' mountain in China, where the East-Asian Mañjuśrī (Ch. Wen-shu)-cult originated, as he is believed to have been teaching Buddhism there. It is a famous pilgrimage site for Chinese Buddhists who worship Wen-shu). Then, Gyōki *Bosatsu* came and found this mountain appropriate, then he carved the *honzon* and built the temple (This is actually a rather small mountain to the East of Kōchi city; designated now as a Prefectural Town Park.). The temple name and *sangō* illustrate this story: *Jigō*: Chikurin-ji, *sangō*: Godai-zan. Over time, the temple had become dirty and forlorn, so when Kōbō Daishi came here to practise somewhere between 806 and 809, he cleaned it up, repaired it and took it over as a Shingon temple, declaring it to be #31. Even the Japan National Tourism Association, located in Tokyo, states in its official website: "Chikurin-ji Temple was built in 724, and is one of the most outstanding ancient temples in Kochi. Kobo Daishi … helped make the temple one of the Shikoku's eighty-eight sacred places". (URL, date of access 12 November 2009:

http://www.jnto.go.jp/eng/arrange/attractions/rtp/east_chugoku_shikoku/day1.html

It seems, however, that that the numbering of the temples comes from a much later time.)

[193] Temple #27, Kōnomeni-ji: Originally, it is said, Empress Shinko Kōbō donated a statue of the Shinto God Amaterasu Kami-*sama* with the wish that this would let her win a war; thus it had first been used as a Shinto Shrine. Later, Gyōki *Bosatsu* carved the *honzon* (11-faced Kannon *Bosatsu*; *hibutsu*) and changed the usage of most parts into that of a Buddhist temple. In 809 Shōmu *Tennō* ordered Kūkai to visit here and build a *garan* (A residence for the community of monks.) so that people could honour both, Shinto Kami and Buddhist Deities, in that hall (which was not uncommon practice at that time).

[194] #11, #28, #35, #49, #73.

[195] For example #11, Fuji-dera: When he was 42 years old, Kūkai is believed to have practised 300 metres north from this temple in the valley. There, he prepared a 13 square-metres large stone to perform the *goma* fire-ceremony. Also, he sat on it in meditation for 17 days. After that, when he continued walking up the mountains, he soon saw Yakushi *Nyorai* (Bhaişajya-guru *Tathāgata)* in the sky; subsequently, he planted many wisteria flowers there to honour him. These

But, be that as it may, important here is the *Daishi shinkō*[196], the belief in Daishi, and the story of him walking around Shikoku when he was 42 years old, and him having established the pilgrimage[197]. As 'Saint', the belief is that he travelled and still travels around Shikoku, often in disguise, doing miracles, helping and benefitting the virtuous and selfless people, punishing the greedy, and so forth. This is not only limited to past tales, but new stories of miraculous cures by those who believe in the powers of the *o-Daishi-sama* are reported in the present day, too – see the examples of contemporary pilgrims, such as on pages 233-238. Again, similar to the example of the 'bridge of the ten nights' and the mausoleum, as mentioned above, one can see how these locals and pilgrims are fascinating informants about constructions and understandings of pilgrimage. Looking at the examples given in note 197 on page 123 of the earliest inscription by a pilgrim, for a contemporary pilgrim it probably is of little relevance that this is the first positive indication of pilgrims visiting the temple (and which imply that the pilgrimage had started perhaps not long before then). Pilgrims 'know' that Kōbō Daishi founded it in 815/816 – so the evidence of pilgrims in 1528 is probably uninteresting, since pilgrims would have been coming, in his understanding of the pilgrimage, since around 815. Below, the Ozaki family will be quoted from the life-pilgrimage-interview in October 2010, where the son showed his understanding by expressing a *complete certainty* about Kōbō Daishi having established the pilgrimage and having visited all 88 temples.

The tale of Kōbō Daishi and Emon Saburō

One of these traditional stories, and the most famous of such legends relating to the

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are called "*fuji*" in Japanese, thus the temple name relates to these flowers that can still be found there abundantly, which are said to have expanded around the mountain and to have bloomed ever since 815.

[196] The application to the Japanese government by the 88 temples for recognition as a World Heritage Site often refers to this term 'Kōbō Daishi shinkō' (see note 138 on page 102).

[197] Reader (2005: 113) as well as Moreton refer to graffiti at temple #80, Kokubun-ji, dating back from 1528 as the oldest inscriptions from common pilgrims. In order to verify this, I visited this temple on 11 December 2009, and the deputy head priest, Rev. Ōtsuka Junji, told me that indeed this is believed to be the oldest graffiti left by lay pilgrims, dating back into the Muromachi-Period of Japanese history (1336-1573), which is said to be contained in a lacquered box produced for this in the Edo-Period (1603-1868). His grandfather, the then head priest, had shown this box opened as well as its *honzon* in the main hall until about 40 to 50 years ago. Since then, the *honzon* has reverted back to its original status as *hibutsu*, and also the box containing the inscriptions is also not opened any more. Even he, Rev. Ōtsuka Junji, has himself never seen these inscriptions.

Daishi shinkō (Reader in Tanabe (ed.), 1999: 363), existing since the latter part of the sixteenth century, is that of Emon Saburō (see the following plate). The Ozaki-family, as contemporary pilgrims, is very much aware of this tale and explains in detail their understanding of this. Reader writes that at #51, Ishite-ji, one can find "the first inscription of the Emon Saburō legend, dating from 1567 and showing that the pilgrims by this period were adept at soliciting alms and developing stories to encourage practice" (2005: 113). Emon Saburō is a man who is pictured in folk tales as the first person to have repeatedly circled around Shikoku for religious reasons, and is seen by many as the first Shikoku pilgrim. This story incorporates in particular temples #12, Shōsan-ji, The Temple of the Burning Mountain, #47, Yasaka-ji, The Temple of the Eight Slopes (rather mounds, the alleged eight graves of the sons mentioned below, found behind the temple), #51, Ishite-ji, The Temple of the Stone Hand, and *bekkaku* #9 temple, Monju-in. The following story was told to me by the head priest, Rev. Arai Kōnin, of *bekkaku* #9 temple, Monju-in, located approximately 1 km north of temple #47[198]. It is also included in the booklet *Odaishisama to Emon Saburō (Odaishisama and Emon Saburō)*[199], and it is one of the tales that is accompanied by material remains, kept at temple #51.

According to the temple legend, Kōbō Daishi stayed at a temple, Tokusei-ji, in the Ebara village in Ehime Prefecture in 824, as he had received a calling from Monju *Bosatsu* (Mañjuśrī *Bodhisattva*) to go there, and so he carved the *honzon* of Monju *Bosatsu* during this time. He is also said to have carved the *daishi-zō*, the Daishi statue of himself (which I find interesting: he carved a statue of *himself*) enshrined in the Daishi-hall. He then wrote 'Monju-in'[200] on the side of the building, thus renaming it. Emon Saburō was the name of a stingy man who lived in the same Ebara village. When Kōbō Daishi visited his house to beg for alms, the old man bluntly refused and threw the monk out, though he returned on the next day. This happened for eight day, and on the last of these the old man finally lost his temper and threw the begging bowl to the ground, where it broke into eight pieces. Kōbō Daishi left without saying a word, but soon after, every day one of Emon's eight sons

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[198] Whom I talked to in this regard by telephone on 27 November 2009 and subsequently visited on 8 December 2009. Furthermore, this is also mentioned in the temple's pamphlet.

[199] In limited circulation: self-published by him, and available at this temple.

[200] Which, according to Rev. Arai, is his temple, *bekkaku* #9, Monju-in.

passed away[201]. He realized that the pilgrim was in fact Kōbō Daishi, and wanted to repent his wrongdoing. He therefore visited a small roadside hut, where it was known that Kōbō Daishi had stayed during his recent alms-round. However, he was not there, and so Emon Saburō posted a note onto the central column of the Monju-in, with his name and wish (asking Kōbō Daishi for forgiveness for his wrongdoing), hoping that he would read it in case he returned to the temple. This note on a wooden plate, according to Rev. Arai, marks the beginning of the *osame-fuda* with one's name and wish written on it. Unable to wait any longer for him to return, Emon Saburō then embarked on wandering around the island and visiting temples, searching for, and thus hoping to meet, the Daishi, at some place along the route. He was on his 21st circuit around the island of Shikoku, when he was going to die; at the foothills of temple #12, Shōsan-ji, where he finally met o-Daishi, who placed a small stone in his left hand. Saburō died peacefully. A monument now marks the alleged place where he had received the stone and then died, on the way towards temple #12:

Plate 16: A monument now marks the alleged place where Emon Saburō had received the stone and then died, on the way towards temple #12, Shōsan-ji; photograph taken on 6 December 2009[202]

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[201] Reader, 2005: 59-60, introduces this story to illustrate the idea that Kōbō Daishi is seen to have a dangerous side. McCarty writes in a similar tone: "This gripping chronicle… implicitly warned the public to bestow hospitality on pilgrims. It was… self-serving… inasmuch as such mistreatment as the sons' dying would not have been condoned by the historical Kukai." (retrieved on 9 November 2009: http://waoe.org/steve/island.html).

[202] Lat. 33.983937, long. 134.319703, alt. 44m.

Later, the Kōnō family of Matsuyama castle gave birth to a son who could not open his left hand until he was three years old. They called the local Buddhist monk, and after praying for the baby, he could finally open his hand, and a stone ball dropped out of it, with "Emon Saburō reborn" written on it. The temple name thus changed from Anyō-ji to *Ishite-ji*, the *Temple of the Stone Hand*, which is now pilgrimage temple #51. The stone is called *tama no ishi, stone ball*[203].

Plate 17: The Emon Saburō legend's *tama no ishi, stone ball*, at temple #51, Ishite-ji; photograph taken on 23 May 2009

As a side-note, I had a talk for nearly an hour with the head priest of a certain temple about this, when I visited there in December 2009. He told me that in his eyes the

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[203] Muro and Moreton (2008: 92) state that this *tama no ishi* is 4 cm in diameter; James Baquet writes in his blog that he has examined the stone in the Daikō-dō-hall, and found it being the size of a chicken egg (2001: URL); a picture showing the same stone is included in Miyata (2006: 103), too. I was allowed to measure it on 23 May 2009 with tape and take photographs, and I measured it as exactly 4 cm from bottom to top. A recent temple publication by Ishite-ji states that the stone that Kōbō Daishi put into Emon Saburō's hand was enclosed by the baby, and that it measures 1 *sun* 8 *bu* (equal to 2.54 cm in the western scale), and this is the very stone that is kept at the temple's museum, which I had examined.

story of Emon Saburō is fictitious[204]. Also, Hakeda (1972: 278) states that in 824, Kūkai had been appointed as junior director of monastic officials after he had been granted the Tō-ji in Kyoto the year before; in 825 he started with the construction of the lecture hall (Jp. *kōdō*, Skt. *prāsāda*) of the Tō-ji and was also, in the same year, appointed tutor to the crown prince; all of this make it highly unlikely that he had been in Shikoku in 824.

Contemporary pilgrims' understanding

But the statements in the above paragraph are, as I see it, not the point: even if obviously the stone of temple #51 would be too large to be enclosed in a baby's fist, this is not what the 'faith' of the believers is about; if pilgrims say Kōbō Daishi[205] is alive, or that this is the stone ball of the reborn Emon Saburō, then one would have to accept that, for devout pilgrims, these are realities[206], and those less devout would still go along with it when on the pilgrimage, as they might feel that expressing such a belief is seen as the appropriate 'done thing'; conduct and belief are very context-dependent in Japan.

This becomes clear in the conversation that we had at the *shukubō* of temple #38. Important to note is that I did not in any way lead the conversation to the topic of his birthplace or any confirmation of this by other participants. The wife (from Hokkaidō) mentioned especially walking from temple #75, so it must have had a special meaning for her. Man 2 calls Zentsū-ji and the area around it Kōbō Daishi's

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[204] His exact words about Emon Saburō, the reborn baby, and the stone were: "*Sono hanashi ga aruwake nai deshō – tsukuri banashi desu*", "*Of course, such story has not happened; this is a made-up story*". This conversation was of personal nature (very frank) and 'off the records', so his identity is withheld.

[205] I am using Kōbō Daishi as a 'Saint' (such as found in these tales of *Daishi-faith*), as opposed to Kūkai in historical matters.

[206] It can also be seen how tales and legends fulfil an important role to teach basic moral behaviour; in this case, the virtue of giving to fellow people in need (*o-settai*). This is not the only such tale; another example is *bekkaku* #4, Yasaka-ji. One day Kōbō Daishi met a man in front of the temple who was transporting salted and dried mackerels on a horse. When he asked him for a gift of one mackerel, the man bluntly refused and walked away. Soon, the horse fell sick, the man recognized his wrong-doing, went back to Kōbō Daishi, asked him for, and received, forgiveness, and gave him one mackerel. Immediately the horse recovered. Kōbō Daishi, however, did not eat the mackerel, but brought it back into the ocean water, where it revived, and happily swam away. Therefore this temple is commonly called *Saba-Daishi,* the *Mackerel and the Daishi*.

birthplace:

> WIFE：Yes, this is the second time [that she did the pilgrimage – her first time was by taxi]. But I’ve walked from the seventy-fifth. Zentsū-ji Temple.
> ME：Did you?
> MAN 2：From the birthplace.
> WIFE：Yes, from the land of Kōbō Daishi.
> ME：Was he born there?
> WIFE：What?
> ME：Was he born there at Zentsū-ji?
> WIFE：That’s what they say about Kōbō Daishi [note, she does not just say ‘yes’ but ‘that is what they say’, which is slightly less positive]
> MAN 2：Yeah, that’s right. He was.
> WIFE：Yes, yes [which, in her Japanese used, is now a clear statement – so they know there is a story to this effect, and they are generally willing to go along with this]
> MAN 2：That’s his birthplace.
> WIFE：Yes.[207]

Another example, where the issue is a factual one, to be distinguished from a religious one, such as ‘Kōbō Daishi is still alive’, illustrates how people naturally draw on commonly held beliefs, especially if they have never come across more sceptical academic accounts. In the long interaction that I had with the Ozaki-family, all natives of Shikoku, when I asked whether Kōbō Daishi had established the pilgrimage, his son answered with: “yes”, and when his daughter-in-law asked “he went to all of them, right?”, he confirmed it with “ultimately… he went to all of them”. He showed his understanding by expressing not a possibility, but a *complete certainty* about Kōbō Daishi having established the pilgrimage and having visited all 88 temples:

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[207] WIFE : うん、２回目。でも七十五番ってのは歩いてるんですよ。善通寺から。
ME : ああ、そうですか。
MAN 2 : あ、せい、生誕の地から。
WIFE : そう。弘法大師生誕の地から。
ME : ふうん。あそこで生まれたんかな。
WIFE : え？
ME : あそこで生まれたんかな、善通寺。
WIFE : っていうんですよね、弘法大師はね。
MAN 2 : うん、そうそうそう、生まれた。
WIFE : そうそうそ。
MAN 2 : 生まれたとこですね。
WIFE : うん。

ME：He established it?
SON：What?
ME：Did he establish the 88 temple pilgrimage?
SON：Yes.
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：He went to all of them, right?
SON：Ultimately.
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：Gone to all of them.
SON：He went to all…[208]

All of the family members of the Ozakis were aware of several miracle tales involving Kōbō Daishi (including the story with Emon Saburō). The son mentioned a story of water and Kōbō Daishi, and both the father and daughter-in-law knew of such a story, whereby she thought that he might have tested people by these kind of actions:

SON：He went to all. And he made water to come out by striking his *tsue* or something. He said he would stop the water if they didn't give him food. That's what I heard.
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：No, he didn't stop the water. It was something like…,
SON：Some kind of harm.
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：He came on the street of one-hundred-ninety, right? There's a place called (?) where Kūkai stopped and asked for water. But they didn't give him any, so they never had any more water after that. The other place still had water after he left, because they'd given him some.
ELDERLY MAN：Ah, I know that one.
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：There's a story like that.
SON：Where?
ME：That must be terrible not having any water.
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：(laughter)
SON：Yeah, I heard that.
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：Yes.
SON：He struck his *tsue* like this to…, (?)
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：(?)
SON：So the water started coming out, and it never dried up.

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[208] ME：作ったんですか、八十八ヶ所。
SON：そうです。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：を回ったわけですよね、結局。
SON：いや、結局ね。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：回って。
SON：全部のところを…

> DAUGHTER-IN-LAW : Yes, so he was testing the people by doing such things[209] [above, it is reported as a ‘story’, but now it becomes more affirmative- Kōbō Daishi actually did these things]

And then the father said, after I mentioned this, that he knew of the story of Emon Saburō, who would make anti-clockwise rounds of the island as a repentance and to meet Kōbō Daishi. They concluded that the lesson learned through this is: don’t do harm to others, so the daughter-in-law added that this was something like a warning. The son added, and this is important as it shows how much they ‘believe’ these tales to be true, that it is a legend, but it must be true though, if a legend lasted this long. This is an interesting comment; one could also say that if a legend has lasted a long time, it must fulfil some purpose(s).

> ME：I heard the story of Emon Saburō at the twelfth Shōsan-ji Temple.
>
> ELDERLY MAN：Emon Saburō, ah, yes, yes.
>
> ME：Emon Saburō. He didn’t put anything in [Kūkai’s] begging bowl.
>
> ELDERLY MAN：Right.
>
> ME : It’s the story about (?). Emon Saburō ended up breaking the bowl, right? Then, all eight of Emon Saburō’s children died.
>
> SON：(?)

---

[209] 全部のところを、全部のところを、い、全部もうて、その杖ついたら水が出るとか、んでここの何が、まあ、そら寄付、ご飯、結局、托鉢立ったときにやね、ご飯くれんだったらここで何したらもう水が出んようにするとか、なんかそういうことをずうっとぼくは聞きましたよ。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：いや、水が出んようにするじゃなくて、なんか。

SON：なんか災いが起きるんか。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：そのここの、百九十、かこの通って来ましたよね。その奥のほうに、あの、（？）っていうところあるんですけど、そこでなんか「お水ください」言うたらお水をくれんかったき、(笑い)「水が出ん」言うて。うん、あれ、やっぱり。ほんでどっかしらでは「水をちょうだい」っていったら水をあげたき、そこは水が出るという。

ELDERLY MAN：うん。そらあるな。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：そんな言い伝えはありますよね。

SON：どこ。

ME：水が出ないにしたらひどいね。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：(笑い)

SON：いやでもね、それ聞いてね。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：なんか、うん。

SON：こう、うん、（？）やけども杖ついたら。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：（？）

SON：そっから水が沸いてきて、それからもうずっときれることがないという。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：そう、うん、で、やっぱり人間を結局試してたわけでしょうがね。そこでそういう。

ELDERLY MAN：Yes, all of them died.

SON：Wasn't there a sign, a big sign, on the way up to Shōsan-ji Temple, showing (?)?

ELDERLY MAN：Not on the mountain of Shōsan-ji, it's at the bottom.

SON：Was it at the bottom?

ELDERLY MAN：Yes.

ME：That's actually a pretty cruel story, though.

EVERYONE：(laughter)

ME：I think so. Did it really happen?

SON：They say it did.

ME：Think of the eight kids that died…, (laughter)

SON：Well, it's not like I saw it happen with my own eyes.

ME：I know.

SON：It's a legend.

ME：Right.

SON：It must be true though, if a legend lasted this long.

ELDERLY MAN：So his children all died.

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：Yes, so…,

SON：So, after realizing what he[210] had done [to] Kōbō Daishi, he[211] continued to make many more pilgrimages in the reverse order as a sign of repentance.

ME：In the reverse order?

SON：Yes.

ME：I see.

SON：And then he was somewhat forgiven and became something, (?) said.

ME：So he was the first pilgrim going to all temples.

SON：It is said something like that.

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：Really. In (?).

SON：So the lesson here is don't you ever do any harm to others.

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：No harm.

SON：Don't do anything bad.

ME：It's scary.

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：(laughter)

SON：(?).

ME：Right.

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：Was it like a warning [tale]?[212]

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[210] Emon Saburō.

[211] Emon Saburō.

[212] ME：でもなんかじ、その、あの、焼山寺、十二番に行ってたら、その衛門三郎のは、話。

It is not that the Ozaki family are authoritative sources and/or historical experts, but they can be seen as examples of how local people involved in the pilgrimage have views or perceptions of the pilgrimage. It becomes clear that in the views of pilgrims,

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ELDERLY MAN：衛門三郎。ああ、はあはあはあ。
ME：衛門三郎。で衛門三郎がその托鉢のをこう出したのに、あの、あげ、何もあげなかったからそれでね。
ELDERLY MAN：そうそう。
ME：（？）する話。それで、それで結局その鉢をこわ、壊したんじゃないですか、なんか衛門三郎。それでその衛門三郎の８人の子どもたちがみんな死んだ。
SON：（？）
ELDERLY MAN：そう、全部死んでんか。
ME：それで、ま、おれ悪いことした、それでお大師さまを探すのために回ったんじゃないかと思って。
SON：あの、道々へ看板、太い看板、これ今これあの家が建ってる中に、（？）ですよ。で、えっと焼山寺に上がる道やったかね。
ELDERLY MAN：焼山寺じゃない、衛門三郎、手前、手前とこ。
SON：手前やったかね。
ELDERLY MAN：うん。
ME：でもあれも聞いてたら、ひどいな。
一同：(笑い)
ME：と思ってさ、その、あれは本当にあったんかな。
SON：ということらしいですよ。
ME：うわ、死んでしもうたもう（笑い）８人のこと思ったら、ついにもう。
SON：ま、実際ま、自分らが見てないからわからんけど。
ME：ま、ま。
SON：そう言い伝えが残っちゅうわけやから。
ME：そうですね。
SON：本当なんじゃろね。やっぱり。言い伝えがずうっとやっぱりこう残っていきよるけえ、ほら。
ELDERLY MAN：子どもがみんな死んでしもうたっちゅうての。そやけえ。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：で、やっぱりそう、それやけに。
SON：で、それを見たら反省してはその弘法大師は、さ、さらに逆回りしてずうっと何周ももうたんだ。
ME：逆、逆回り。
SON：うん。
ME：ああ、そうかそうか。
SON：ほならそれで、あのなんか許されて、何とかってなったりとかって（？）が書いとったんですよ。
ME：で、それがはじめてのお遍路さんと。そういう、全部回ってたから。
SON：なんかそんなこと言うたですわな、あれ。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：本当ね。ま、（？）には。
SON：で、絶対人には悪いことせられん。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：そう、悪いこと。
SON：悪いことはせられんでねって。
ME：あ、怖いもんな。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：（笑い）
SON：（？）
ME：そうだね。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：戒めというか、あれやったんですかね。

the ‘real history’ of the pilgrimage is not important compared to the legendary one centred on Kōbō Daishi founding it, and the Emon Saburō legend (which is also a Kōbō Daishi legend), and this is seen in their adherence to legends and stories relating to him (Reader, 2005: 39-62, also looks at this issue). My informants do talk of it as a ‘story’ and a ‘legend’ – which they then sometimes positively go along with – but I can still sense some tentativeness though. Still, when pilgrims talk of it as a ‘story’ and a ‘legend’, they, to varying extents, temporarily enter the ‘world’ of the stories, and thus feel their force. Below, the thesis will look at how pilgrims experience the ‘consecrated water’ of temple #22, Byōdō-ji; how pilgrims see their ritual steps which they engage in at the temples, their pilgrimage items and related rituals (and who regards which as how important, and why); who are the gatekeepers, for example of keeping the statues of the chief deities in the temples secret, and how pilgrims understand not being able to see ‘their’ deity-statue.

Conclusion

One of the key research questions of this thesis is the place of Kōbō Daishi in the minds of contemporary pilgrims, and how they relate to his role in the pilgrimage. For this, one needs to look at the position of Kōbō Daishi and the legendary construction of the pilgrimage in the minds of pilgrims. For example, pilgrims staying at the *shukubō* of temple #75 were happy to have been able to visit the place where Kūkai had been born. Also, Kūkai is believed to having wandered all around Shikoku, and have experienced rejection by some locals. For a believing pilgrim, it is not important to verify this: they assume or ‘know’ that Kōbō Daishi had spent, say, a lonely night under a bridge in around 815, so this had happened there and then, in their understanding, which is an interesting way to look at how temple officials and pilgrims understand matters. Regarding the other example analysed, which was related to his mausoleum or temple #51, if pilgrims say Kōbō Daishi is alive, or that this is the stone ball of the reborn Emon Saburō, then one would have to accept that, for devout pilgrims, these are realities. And regarding those less devout pilgrims, this thesis explained how conduct and belief are very context-dependent in Japan, and so these would still go along with such understandings to some extent, as they might feel this is the appropriate ‘done thing’ while on pilgrimage.

Contemporary diaries are a valuable source of information of how pilgrims perceive and understand the pilgrimage and Kōbō Daishi-related issues, such as the *Daishi shinkō*, and *dōgyō ninin*, because as a 'Saint' he is by the side of, and supports and protects, those who believe in him. And those that don't yet, might still relate miraculous events that happen during the pilgrimage to his 'power'. A 22 year old female Japanese pilgrim, who had done the pilgrimage, mainly by walking, over 48 days up to 25 October 2010, made her pilgrimage experiences public in her on-line diary, where she gave the following examples of what Kōbō Daishi meant to her. When her accompanying walker had leg pain, and needed to visit a hospital, they got a lift by car: this was 'arranged' through Kōbō Daishi; because of the pain in the legs, they decided not to take the (official) pilgrimage path through the mountains, but to walk along the beach by the ocean: this experience of beautiful nature was a 'present' from Kōbō Daishi; she felt protected by Kōbō Daishi because he 'caused' good weather; it was hard for her to walk alone, but Kōbō Daishi made her strong; this is because *dōgyō ninin* meant to her *walking together with Kōbō Daishi*; and she thanked him upon completion for these fifty days (Hana, URL: 2011).

Another male pilgrim, in his 40s, doing it mainly by walking, wrote to me[213] concerning what he had felt about Kōbō Daishi. He was at first surprised to find his statue so often, it seemed, everywhere; in addition, *Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*, written on the white vests and straw hats of many pilgrims, constantly entered his eyes. He was not surprised that he had to clean the *kongō-tsue* before entering his accommodation, but was surprised when a fellow pilgrim placed it into the *tokonoma* – he had not expected that. Because of all these abundant meaning-making markers, Kōbō Daishi became more and more of a centre of his 'pilgrimage-world'. In addition, as Kōbō Daishi, too, had suffered lonely and cold nights outside (he refers here to the *toyoga-bashi*), this brought him into close – human – connection: he is 'one of us'.

A female pilgrim, also in her 40s, doing it by all forms of transportation, combined with walking, wrote to me[214] about Kōbō Daishi, saying that she had read that one should not use the *kongō-tsue* when passing over a bridge, as it is believed that he

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[213] Personal e-mail communication, 28 October 2010.

[214] Personal e-mail communication, 21 October 2010.

sleeps under it, so as not to disturb him, and she mindfully kept this rule. Although at the beginning she felt like a tourist, she came more and more to look forward to visiting the temples and to 'greeting' Kōbō Daishi in his *daishi-dō*. She always had the feeling of not doing this pilgrimage alone, but with Kōbō Daishi by her side, and because of this, she had completed it without any major problems. At the Okunoin on Mount Kōya she prayed for a long time, thanking Kōbō Daishi and all those people that had helped her for their support.

In this pilgrimage, each pilgrimage temple has two halls, the *hon-dō* and the *daishi-dō*. I noted the time that pilgrims spent on both halls was identical, and I read pilgrims' behaviour – the candles, incense and monetary gifts that they offer, *osame-fuda* that they place into the same boxes as those of the main halls, the *sūtra*s that they recite, the silent prayers that they do, their facial expressions – that they give the Daishi-halls the same treatment as the main halls, in other words, that they relate similarly to both; both have the same 'sacredness' for them (more will be explained below). Indeed, much related to the *honzon* are the *nōkyō-chō*, *kakejiku*, and *miei-chō*, which are 'special' to the pilgrims, as tradition has it that the deity itself is present in the image and/or seal – and therefore present in the *nōkyō-chō*, *kakejiku*, and *miei-chō* (these items and related understanding will be explained below, too). And pilgrims collect these in the *nōkyō-chō and miei-chō*, which <u>always</u> depicts Kōbō Daishi on its first page, and the *kakejiku*, in the centre of which he, or his *mantra*, is also usually featured.

The following chapter will look at the other 'sacred' foci of the pilgrimage, especially the *hon-dō* and the statues that are enshrined in these. It will also examine the significance of many of these statues, and those of Kōbō Daishi, being kept unseen except for rare viewings: how pilgrims understand not being able to see 'their' deity or 'Saviour', and who are the 'gatekeepers' for deciding on whether a statue is kept hidden, or when it is shown? Further sacred foci are Shinto ones; how do pilgrims view the relation of Buddhist and Shinto at the pilgrimage temples, and how does Kōbō Daishi figure in this relationship? When they visit the temples, what do they venerate, what has 'special' or 'sacred' value for them, and why (or why not)? How do pilgrims understand these issues? Also, if their views are something to do with the way that they were taught, what exactly were they taught? More generally, what are pilgrims' own religious affiliation and thoughts about 'religion'. Here, what was first addressed in this thesis in the part 'religion and religious in Japan' in general terms, will be brought into the explicit context of contemporary understanding of pilgrims.

Chapter 4: The ‘sacred’ foci of the pilgrimage: *honzon*, Kōbō Daishi and *kami*, and their relationship

Honzon and *hibutsu*

All 88 temples have a main hall (*hon-dō)* in which is enshrined an image of their main deity (*honzon*), as well as a hall dedicated to Kōbō Daishi (*dashi-dō*). In the Shingon tradition, for a pilgrim to pay homage to a deity through the *sanmitsu-kaji* (*Three Mysteries*[215]) at a temple, as well as receiving the written representation through an authorized priest or officer, is to receive the essence of the deity itself in the pilgrims’ *nōkyō-chō* and/or *kakejiku*. This is because believers talk about a *honzon*-image as if it is the deity that it depicts.

This faith-perspective is deeply embedded in the idea that a Buddhist statue, when it is going to be installed in a temple, is seen to become ‘alive’ through its ‘eye-opening-ceremony’[216].

This ceremony consists of firstly purifying the place where it is to be enshrined through offerings of incense, flowers, candles, etc. Then, an ink-stone, fresh ink, and a new brush is prepared, soaked in ink, and the priest in-charge will draw a full circle in the air, which is a sign of completeness. Tea and sweets are ritually offered to the image, and various *sūtra*s (depending on the denomination) recited. Finally, a ritual ‘eye-dotting’[217]in the air is performed with the brush, and through this, the enshrined statue has now become ‘alive’.

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[215] A Shingon-concept: mysterious acts of the body, mind and speech. Kojima explains (2007: 31):

1. Mysterious acts of body: performing *mudrā*, esoteric hand-gestures.
2. Mysterious acts of speech: reciting *mantra*s.
3. Mysterious acts of mind: Shingon-meditation: visualizations of holy images, particularly *bīja*, for example, Yakushi *Nyorai* (Bhaişaiya-guru *Tathāgata*) is attributed with the seed-syllable *BHAI*; Shaka *Nyorai* (Śākyamuni *Buddha*) with *BHAḤ*; Jizō *Bosatsu* (Kşitigarba *Bodhisattva*) with *HA*, and Fudō *Myō* (Ācāla Vidya-*Rāya*) with *HĀṂ*. It is said that these symbols contain the compressed symbolized *dharma*-essence of the deity: his virtues, teachings, qualities and personality. In other words, these symbols can also be seen as a summary of the *mantra* of the deity.

[216] 開眼式, *kaigen-shiki*.

[217] 点眼, *tengen*. See also Tanabe, 1998: 414.

Counting the *honzon* of the 88 temples[218] shows that there are 24 Yakushi, and 32 Kannon, which implies an emphasis on healing and, more generally, on compassion.

The *honzon* of the pilgrimage temples can be classified into four main groups, the first of which depicts a *Nyorai,* Skt. *Tathāgata*, literally meaning *Thus-gone or Thus-come*, i.e. arrived at true reality, or come from it, and is a term applied to Buddhas, seen as perfect and unsurpassed in wisdom and mercy. In the 88-temple pilgrimage there are enshrined as *Nyorai*: Yakushi *Nyorai* (Bhaişajya *Tathāgata*; in 24 temples[219]), Amida *Nyorai* (Amitābha *Tathāgata*; in 9 temples[220]), Shaka *Nyorai* (Śākyamuni *Tathāgata;* in 6 temples[221]), Dainichi *Nyorai* (Mahāvairocana *Tathāgata*; in 6 temples[222]), Daitsūchishō *Nyorai* (Mahābhijňajňānābhibhū *Tathāgata*; in one temple).

Yakushi *Nyorai* is second in ranking to Kannon by number of their *honzon*, he being the 'revered teacher of medicine', believed to grant cures from any illnesses. He might be seen by pilgrims as granting this-worldly benefits, such as miraculous healing from illnesses. For example, temple #18, Onzan-ji, sells talismans especially for female worshippers for easy childbirth and recovery from female illnesses, and temple #22, Byōdō-ji, sells consecrated water for the cure of eye-illnesses, and temple #34, Tanema-ji, is also visited for easy childbirth. All of these temples have an image of Yakushi *Nyorai* enshrined as *honzon*, and it might signal that one of the most common motives pilgrims had was to attain the curing from illnesses or longevity, and one reason why ordinary people initially went on this pilgrimage. And contemporary people still visit there and pray for such benefits, for example, as the

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[218] In total, 92 *honzon* altogether, not 88, as temple number 37, Iwamoto-ji, has five *honzon*: Fudō *Myōō* (Ācāla *Vidrarāja*) + Amida *Nyorai* (Amitābha *Tathāgata*) + Yakushi *Nyorai* (Bhaişajya *Tathāgata*) + Shō Kannon *Bosatsu* (Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*) + Jizō *Bosatsu* (Kşitigarbha *Bodhisattva*). All *honzon* in this pilgrimage are wooden statues, except for temple #68, Jinne-in, where it is a hanging scroll (*kakejiku)*-painting of Amida *Nyorai* (Amitābha *Tathāgata*). This scroll is not shown to the public. According to the temple pamphlet, the temple was originally built by high priest Nisshō Shōnin in 703 as a small Shinto hut on top of the mountain "Kotohiki-san", adding it to the buildings of the "Kotohikihachi-mangu"-Shinto-Shrine there; Kōbō Daishi then had visited there in 808, and painted a hanging scroll of Amida *Nyorai*, then installed it as the *honzon* in the hut, making it a Buddhist temple, and then he decided it to be #68 of the pilgrimage temples.

[219] #6, #11, #15, #17, #18, #22, #23, #26, #33, #34, #35, #37, #39, #40, #46, #50, #51, #59, #67, #74, #75, #76, #77, #88.

[220] #2, #30, #37, #47, #53, #57, 64, #68, #78.

[221] #1*,* #3, #7, #9, #49, #73.

[222] #4, #28, #42, #60, #61, #73.

ladles hung up at temple #34 show (see plate 44 on page 222).

Shaka *Nyorai* is believed to enrich the pilgrim's religious knowledge (Miyata, 2006: 20, 39). Dainichi *Nyorai*, as the main deity of worship in Shingon Buddhism, is only enshrined in as few as 6 temples, although one might expect this to be far more, as most of the pilgrimage temples belong to Shingon-*shū*, whose followers believe that all things emerge from, are created, operated and completed by Dainichi *Nyorai*, who symbolizes complete enlightenment in their tradition; he is positioned in the centre of both the *taizō-kai* and the *kongō-kai maṇḍala*s[223]. Amida *Nyorai* (Amitābha = Infinite Light), symbolizes– as his name suggests – illuminating human beings, and their subsequent rebirth in his "Pure Land".

Pilgrims are told that the Daitsūchishō *Nyorai*, enshrined at temple #55, delivers knowledge (Miyata, 2006: 21). Many believe[224] that one of his sons was a prior rebirth of Śākyamuni Buddha. Daitsūchishō *Nyorai* is first referred to in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra = 'Lotus Sūtra'*- Ch. 7 (in the Sanskrit and Chinese version) as follows: Śākyamuni Buddha said that there once lived Daitsūchishō *Nyorai*, who, before he got ordained, was a king, with 16 sons (princes). He, Śākyamuni (in one of his past lives), was his sixteenth son. Later rebirths of these 16 princes protected the 16 directions, two for each: South-East, South, South-West, West, North-West, North, North-East. One of the two guardians of the North-East is himself, Śākyamuni. The 16 princes (Śākyamuni (in one of his past lives) on the left side, front row, first from left), and Daitsūchishō *Nyorai* can be seen on plate 18 on the following page.

The second kind of *honzon* depicts a *Bosatsu* (Skt. *Bodhisattva*, *Enlightenment-being*). The term means one who seeks Buddhahood through compassionately helping others whilst developing his own wisdom (Harvey, 1990, p. 121ff.). In the 88-temple pilgrimage there are enshrined: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*

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[223] For an explanation of the *taizō-kai* and the *kongō-kai-maṇḍala* in relation to this pilgrimage, see Pussel, 2010b: 108-112.

[224] So it was explained to me by Rev. Itawaki Shunkyō, head priest of temple #55 on 8 December 2009 there.

Plate 18: Kōun-ji's Daitsū-an hall, with a Daitsūchishō *Nyorai* in the centre and with 8 princes on each side[225]. This *honzon* is usually locked away in its box; photograph with its doors opened by special permission on 12 November 2008

(Ekadaśamukha-Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*) in 13 temples[226], Senju Kannon *Bosatsu* (Sahasrabhujāvalokiteśvara-Avalokiteśvara) in 11 temples[227], Jizō *Bosatsu* (Kşitigarbha *Bodhisattva*) in 6 temples[228], Shō Kannon *Bosatsu* (Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*) in 5 temples[229], Kokūzō *Bosatsu* (Ākāśagarbha *Bodhisattva*, that Kōbō Daishi repeatedly chanted a *mantra* to) in 3 temples[230], Batō Kannon *Bosatsu* (Hayagrīva *Bodhisattva)* in temple #70, Monju *Bosatsu* (Mañjuśrī *Bodhisattva*; in temple #31), Miroko *Bosatsu* (Maitreya *Bodhisattva*; in temple #14).

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[225] Sōtō-*shū*'s Kōun-ji of Ōmijima-island, Ehime, is, according to its head priest, Rev. Miyoba Ryūdo, the only temple in Japan with statues of the above mentioned 16 ōji (princes) enshrined, which he told me when I visited there on 12 November 2008. Please see also further down.

[226] #13, #37, #32, #41, #44, #48, #52, #62, #65, #79, #80, #84, #86).

[227] #8, #10, #16, #29, #38, #43, #58, #66, #71, [#80,] #81, #82, [#84]. Please note that temples #58, Senyū-ji, #80, Kokubun-ji, and #84, Yashima-ji, have a peculiar *honzon*: Jūichimen Senju Kannon *Bosatsu* (Eleven-Faced Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva* with a thousand arms). These two temples are counted here at the Jūichimen Kannon section, but are also listed in brackets at the Senju Kannon section.

[228] #5, #19, #20, #25, #37, #56.

[229] #37, #69, #83, #85, #87.

[230] #12, #21, #24.

The various forms of Kannon *Bosatsu*[231] (32 in total) are the most common *honzon* in the Shikoku pilgrimage. Some pilgrims, I have learned, pray for safety in traffic to Kannon *Bosatsu*. The eleven-faced Kannon (Jūichimen-Kannon *Bosatsu*) and thousand armed Kannon (Senju-Kannon *Bosatsu*) symbolize all the female, motherly virtues: purity and all other positive female aspects, including loving compassion, acting compassionately, with motherly tenderness. Shō Kannon *Bosatsu (Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva holding a lotus flower)* is also a female type *Bodhisattva*, and the unopened lotus flower held in her hand represents the Buddha-nature that we all have in us, waiting to 'come out' or 'open up like a lotus flower'. The left hand shows the *semui-mudrā*, an open hand that symbolized *do not fear*, or *do not worry*. She is wearing royal cloths, and in the crown on her head a statue of Amida *Nyorai* (Amitābha *Tathāgata*), whose devotee she is, can be seen; she represents the cleaning of the delusional mind and repentance for the pilgrims (Miyata, 2006: 20). Batō Kannon is enshrined only in temple #70, Motoyama-ji; his name could be translated as *The Kannon with a Horse Head*, relating to his head that looks like a horse's. He is responsible for this-worldly affairs, is worshipped by farmers to protect themselves and their farm animals from sickness or accidents, and also the warrior-*samurai* worshipped him as he represented strength for their victory in battles and safety for travel (as in past times the horse was a means of travel for them).

Jizō *Bosatsu* serves in common Japanese Buddhist practice as protector of children, guardian of deceased children, including aborted foetuses, protector of pregnant women, and also aids in easy childbirth. Kokūzō *Bosatsu* often holds a (wish-granting) *maṇi* jewel in his left hand, and therefore it is believed that the merit of visiting a temple that has enshrined him leads to gaining material wealth through his 'power'. Monju *Bosatsu* is holding a sword in his right hand, which is believed to symbolize his ability to 'cut through' (i.e. destroy) evil and extinguish all delusions, and a lotus flower in his left hand, symbolising the 'pure' nature of all sentient beings; in other words, for the pilgrim, and this includes students, he represents wisdom, both spiritual and academic. Miroku *Bosatsu* in enshrined in temple #14,

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[231] Who is generally regarded, both in China and Japan, as female; however, some portrayals of Kannon in Japan show him/her with a moustache, in other words, male.

and this relates to its name: Jōraku-ji, the Temple of Everlasting Peace: he is believed to give guidance after death.

The third kind of *honzon* depicts a *Myōō* (Skt. *Vidyārāja*, *King of Knowledge,* opposer of *avidyā*, ignorance). *Myōō* are tantric deities who were originally Hindu deities and were introduced to Japan in the 9th century by the Shingon school. They look forceful and powerful because they are seen to destroy all "illusion" and "evil". However, they are seen as manifestations of *Nyorai*, and as merciful at heart, endlessly helping all sentient beings on the way to enlightenment. In the 88-temple pilgrimage Fudō *Myōō* (Ācāla *Vidrarāja*) is enshrined in 4 temples[232], representing fatherly strictness, compassion and strength with his fierce looking face, and his 'sword of wisdom' in his right hands that cuts off all delusions, while his rope in the left hand disciplines restless minds so that enlightenment can be achieved.

The fourth kind of *honzon* depicts a *Tembu*. *Tembu* is derived from the Sanskrit *Deva*, meaning *Celestial Being.* Some of these deities come from post-Buddhist 'Hinduism', whilst some were already accepted in early Buddhism, and are seen as protectors of the Buddhist law. As guardians, they are seen to protect believers from misfortune, bring material wealth, love and beauty. They are closer to humans than *Myōō* or *Bosatsu*. In the 88-temple pilgrimage Bishamonten (Vaiśravaṇa*,* Pāli Vessavaṇa – one of the direction-protecting 'Four Great Kings') is enshrined as *Tembu* at temple #63, Kisshō-ji, and was worshipped by the samurai, especially in the 16th century for victory in war; now he is the guardian deity for businessmen, granting success in enterprises, and he is "especially worshipped by managers of restaurants" (Miyata, 2006: 115).

Hibutsu: secret images

An aspect connected with this is that 66 of the 88 temples[233] have their *honzon* as *hibutsu*[234]. This is a statue of the temple's chief deity which is not, or very seldomly,

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[232] #36, #37, #45, #54.

[233] For a complete list of all *honzon* with their descriptions, see Pussel (2010b: 216-233).

[234] Similarly, all temples in the Saigoku pilgrimage are *hibutsu*, except five (#6, #7, #8, #25, #32). In the Chichibu-pilgrimage all are *hibutsu*, but shown once every twelve years: the last time

shown to the public, and sometimes, *in lieu*, a *maebutsu*[235] is placed in front of it[236]. Statues other than a *honzon* (and other than of a Buddha/*butsu*) can also be a *hibutsu*, such as, in a few instances, of Kōbō Daishi (as is, for example, the case at temple #55, Nankō-bō).

Plate 19: The '1000'-armed-Kannon-*hibutsu* (never shown to public) of temple #58, Senyū-ji. Photograph taken for this thesis by Itawaki Yuka, by special permission of the head priest, Rev. Oyamada Kenshō, on 9 February 2011

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was in 2003, the next time will be in 2015.

[235] As a copy of the *hibutsu*.

[236] This is done at around one-third of the *hon-dō*. The following temples have a *maebutsu* in their main hall: #1, #19, #20, #23, #24, #25, #27, #28, #31, #32, #41, #45, #46, #48, #49, #52, #58, #61, #63, #65, #68, #69, #70, #80, #83, #88 (Sakurai Megumu, 2002: 196-199).

b)

a)

Plates 20 a and b: *Honzon* Daitsūchishō-*Nyorai* comparison: the *hibutsu* of Tōen-bō[237] (left) and the *hibutsu* of #55, Nankō-bō (right; shown only once

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[237] Lat. 34.246183, long. 133.0048, alt. 23m.

In 703, Emperor Monmu (683-707) ordered the construction 16 Shinto-shrine-complexes in 16 directions (Kimura, 1995: 146) on Ōmijima-island (in Iyo no kuni, present-day Ehime Prefecture), with the Ōyamazumi-Jinja as its centre. However, as Ōmijima island was too difficult to reach for people to pray there, in 709, several shrines and sub-temples (*bō*) were moved to what is now Imabari-city, out of which only Nankō-bō survived. In 794, a high priest from Himeji in what is now Hyōgo Prefecture, Seiku Shōnin, is said to have visited the every 50 years). Plate 20 taken by me on 11 November 2009, plate 21 courtesy of Itawaki Yuka, taken on 19 November 2010

Only in 6 temples is the *honzon* always shown to the public[238], and in 16 it is only seldomly shown[239]. Of course, if pilgrims read guidebooks, listen to the *sendatsu*'s explanations, read the inscriptions of the respective *mantra* at the main hall, or chant the *sūtra*, they most likely know what *honzon* is enshrined, even if they can't see or inspect it. Collecting the seals in the *nōkyō-chō* and/or *kakejiku* as well as the *osugata*-slips also shows a form of veneration of the chief deity of each temple. But who is the gatekeeper to decide that they become *hibutsu* (and stay as that)? How do pilgrims understand it that only 6 out of 88 *honzon* are shown to them (and a further 16 only at very rare occasions, in other words, they are likely not to see these either)? And why and how does it become 'sacred' or 'special' for them? Suzuki Michitaka writes that *hibutsu* is the:

> most prominent example for the idea of sacredness in general. Hidden Buddhas are invisible as they are kept in seclusion and in darkness, and they do not only "seem" to be living, but are living in the literal sense for the people who think they are living. (2011: 6),

and then he explains that the origin of *hibutsu* can be traced back to the 9th century. He comes to the conclusion that in Japan,

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Ōyamazumi-Jinja on Ōmijima island. He was a follower of the Hokke-*shū* and was devoted to promote it throughout Japan. As a *honji-butsu* (Buddhist deity in a Shinto shrine, see also further below) he enshrined the Daitsūchishō-*Nyorai* in the Shrine. It thus became a *jingu-ji* (shrine-temple), and consequently a separate sub-temple was built to enshrine this *honzon*, named Tōen-bō. I naturally wanted to examine this statue, and Ms Sadafumi opened the Tōen-bō for me on 11 November 2008. According to her, her family had for several generations been the caretaker of Tōen-bō, as it is too small for a priest to live there; now, they still take care of it, whereas it officially "belongs" to Nankō-bō: their head priest visits once a year, for New Year celebrations.

[238] In Tokushima: #6 (Yakushi), #17 (Senjū-Kannon), #19 (Jizō), in Kōchi #41(Jūichimen-Kannon); in Ehime #51 (Yakushi), in Kagawa #75 (Yakushi).

[239] In Tokushima #21 (only once every year on 12 January), in Kōchi #26 (only once a year during January for the New Year's celebration), #38 (whenever the head priest deems appropriate), in Ehime #40 (only once every 50 years; the last time was in 1984, the next time will be in 2034), #47 (only once every 50 years; the last time was in 1984, the next time will be in 2034), #52 (once a year), #55 (only once every 50 years; the last time was 2005, the next time it will be in 2055), #59 (only once every 33 years; the last time was in 1984, the next time will be in 2017), #60 (only once every 33 years or so; the last time was in 1999, the next time will probably be in 2059), #63 (only once every 60 years; the last time was in 1978, the next time will be in 2038); in Kagawa #67 (only once every 60 years; last time was in 1960, the next time will be in 2020), #76 (only during the year during New Year's celebrations), #77 (only once every 50 years; the last time was in 1980, the next time will be in 2030), #78 (only at major ceremonies of the temple), #82 (only once every 33 years or so; the last time was in 2003, the next time it is planned to be in 2038), #86 (only once a year on 16 July 16).

> Buddhist statues are sacred in themselves and can be said to be living…They are not “sculptures” in the Western sense. They are living. This is not in a rhetorical sense, but literally and actually living [as with the above quotation, he of course means that this is what people think]. Alternatively it might be better to say that they are thought to have consciousness… [Buddhist statues] have a spirit, and should not be soiled (by easy contact) and … this invisibility… [is] necessary in order to avoid pollution (9-10).

Also, I might add, in the Shikoku pilgrimage, most temples are Shingon, which is an ‘esoteric’ school, and so perhaps influenced, through its Tantra, by Hindu ideas on temples, where the deity-image is often hidden and the temple is seen as like the palace of a king. That said, for Japan, Shinto practice is more likely to have been an influence, where “literally translated, the word *kami* means that which is hidden” [240].

Regarding the Shikoku-pilgrimage-temple’s point of view, Ms Itawaki of temple #55, explained to me[241] that it is simply a tradition, which started in 794 (in other words, since the beginning of the Heian-Period), that the *honzon*-statues are kept as *hibutsu*[242]. According to her, the reason they are kept as *hibutsu*, is because the *honzon* has a special strong power, so “we don’t want to open the box”. She gave two reasons for this: firstly the power might be too strong for the pilgrim (or indeed any other person); in other words, keeping it ‘locked away’ is to protect the people. Secondly, the *honzon* is locked away so that it won’t lose its powers; in other words, keeping it ‘locked away’ also protects the *honzon*. I am reminded here of the tradition of #48, Sairin-ji, where the *honzon* is a *hibutsu*, which not even the head priest is said to be allowed to see; it is believed that the power of this *honzon* is too strong, so it was placed backwards, facing the back wall of the main hall; therefore some pilgrims actually perform their prayer rites at the back of the *hon-dō*:

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[240] Califormia State Polytechnic University, *Shinto Tenets*, retrieved on 3 June 2011: http://www.csupomona.edu/~plin/ews431/shinto3.html

[241] On 31 October 2010.

[242] Yes, it is tradition – and her belief that it goes back that far can at least to some point be historically validated, as according to Fujisawa Takako, this phenomenon can be traced back to late 9th century. Suzuki explains that Fujusawa’s reseach revealed that the term *hibutsu* can be found in documents from probably 840, and that *hibutsu* are seen to give magical powers for this-wordly benefits, and that these powers have no relation to form, and so it is not important to see the deity’s statue, but rather to ‘hear’ them ‘talk’ to the believer (Fujisawa, 2002: 1134-119, as summarized in Suzuki, 2011: 8).

Plate 21: A pilgrim praying reciting *sūtra* and praying at the back of the *hon-dō* of temple #48, Sairin-ji; photograph taken on 8 December 2009

On the pilgrims' side, the wife of the married couple whom I talked to over dinner at temple #38 told me that the *honzon* are *hibutsu* because one isn't allowed to see so easily these national treasures[243]. Her husband added that Japanese temples are closed. The *honzon* are hidden as *hibutsu* so as to maintain their dignity[244] (I understand this as meaning both the dignity or inviolability of the physical object as a 'national treasure', and also in some non-physical, spiritual sense). Also, she said, *hibutsu* is a custom, and "that's the way it is"[245].

The daughter-in-law of Mr Ozaki said that *honzon* and the statues of *kami* are just an image, but explains at the same time why they are both not shown so often: to prevent one to become too much focussed on the image. Her husband explained that one isn't allowed to see the *honzon* so easily, and he thought that they are all opened and shown once a year to the public, whereas some temples started only recently to show them once every few years. He said that the reason for this is that *kami*[246] need

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[243] 国宝, *kokuhō*.

[244] 威厳, *igen*.

[245] ま、これはこういうもんだって感じで。

[246] He used the term *kami* (which is Shinto) for the chief deities enshrined in the pilgrimage

quiet privacy (so, for him, the images are not just images), but they also would have to clean the room once a year, and that's when one can see them. If one wanted to see the *honzon*, one would simply have to go when it is shown to the public. He accepts this system naturally. He also explained their ritual behaviours: they stand outside the hall where the statue is, throw *o-saisen* and rice, and pray – "it's normal to us", "We don't wonder about it. If you want to see the statue, go when it's open.", "Japanese pray to *kami* standing outside. That's how we do it… That's the way we were taught, so I have never wondered about that at all". Buddhism came from China to Japan, so Japan probably has its own way (in other words, it is Japanese to have *hibutsu*, even if other Buddhist countries do not follow such tradition). "That's the way how it was taught since we were little", "All the systems are implanted in our heads 'Do it like this'", "Japanese are the kind of people who follow routines. If you are going to do this, do it this way in this order… as you have been told", "So we follow the routines and what everyone else is doing". He concluded that one – as a foreigner – should not reflect too much upon this and accept it as it is: religions have different perspectives because the people are different and say different things; but in fact we are brothers and sisters with different beliefs. And his wife added regarding foreigners thinking about this *hibutsu*-issue: "That's where they find the gap when they come from other countries". And her husband summarized their understanding as "We [Japanese] accept the system naturally, though."[247]

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temples.

SON：Well, you aren't allowed to see them so easily…I think they are open to the public once every year…Some temples only recently started showing the statues to the public once every few years.

ELDERLY MAN：Right.

SON：So that's the way it is. They can't be opened all the time.

ME：But don't you want to see it?

SON：Do I want to see it? Well…,

ME：(laughter)

SON：If I wanted to see it, I will go when it's open.

ME：Well, I see.

SON：I think everyone understands that.

ME：You're right...

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：I see your point.

SON：We accept the system naturally, though. We stand outside the hall where the statue is, throw *o-saisen* [offertory coins] and rice, and pray like this. It's normal to us.

ME：Yes.

SON：We don't wonder about it. If you want to see the statue, go when it's open because they do sometimes. (?)

ME：Yes, right. I understand that it's not easy for people who come a long way, like from Hokkaidō or Kyūshū. I haven't really thought about that.

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：*Honzon* and the statues of the *kami*. They are just an image, after all. That's why they don't show it to you often. To prevent you from becoming materialistic…, maybe that's not right, maybe they don't want you to be too focused on the image.

…DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：So that's where they find the gap when they come from other countries. (laughter)

… EVERYONE：(laughter)

… SON：Japanese people pray to *kami* standing outside. That's how we do. The religion is originally from China and then came to Japan, so it probably has Japan's own way. That's the way we were taught, so I have never wondered at all about that.

ME：Right.

SON: "Throw *o-saisen* in the offertory box and pray so you can be smart." "This is the way, this is how we do it". That's how it was taught since we were little. (?) is the same, right?

… SON：All the systems are implanted in our heads. "Do it like this."

ME：I understand. Japanese have their own rules. There's of course the origin of the routine of first lighting the candle and incense, throwing the *o-saisen*, and then reading the *Hannya Shingyō*, I guess that's good.

SON：Japanese are the kind of people who follow routines. If you are going to do this, do it this way in this order (?) as you have been told.

ME：Right, routines are important. It would be confusing without them.

SON：Yes. So we follow the routines and what everyone else is doing.

SON：だからかね、それはね、なっかなか見せてくれんですよ。。。あれね、なぜかね、何年に１回かのほら。。。れでもね、ぼくこないだね、あの、何年に１回に開けるようにな、なって。

ELDERLY MAN：そうそう。

SON：だから決まってますわ。ほんでそれを普段からいつもあけて見せられんが、ということです。

ME：だし、見たくないですか。

SON：いや、見たくないってその。

ME：（笑い）

SON：あ、見たければそのあ、開ける日に寺に来なさいという。

ME：ま、そうですね。

SON：人はそういう感じやとぼく思いますよ。

ME：そうですね。。。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：うん、なるほど。

SON：やっぱりぼくらはそれがもう当たり前と思ってるきん、でんで、そのあの、本尊も前で、ま、お賽銭入れて、お米入れて、こうやってやって拝むでしょう。ほなら、それはぼくらは当たり前と思うちょるきん。

ME：そうですね。

SON：これはなんとも思うてないですね。で、どうしてもご本尊が見たいなら、ほら、その、開ける日があるきよ、その日にお寺行ってみな、見なさいよという感じでやったら、（？）っちゅうかはその。

ME：ま、そうですね。それま、やっぱり遠くから来た人たち、ま、たとえば北海道からとか、九州から来てる人たちはそんなに簡単には行かれないから、ま、どう、そのへんどうか。ま、ぼくもまだそこ、その、きま。

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：結局、本尊っていっても、神さま、あの、本尊さんの形があってないといおうか、なんかそういうところがやっぱりあるから見せないというところがあるがないですかね。それを結局物質にとらわれないっていうと変だけど、こうその姿にとらわれないっていったらおかしい、そういうところがあるのやろかね。

。。。DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：やっぱりほなら、やっぱりそこでギャップがあるんやろ

It is interesting to note that all the Chichibu icons (which are usually *hibutsu*) were on display in 2008 (they did a special opening then because pilgrim numbers had gone down and they needed to give the pilgrimage a boost). This points to something interesting in this discussion of *hibutsu* and their occasional opening: the whole process of hiding them or exposing them as being connected to attracting pilgrims. By keeping a statue secret it acquires an allure that draws people in – and creates an opportunity also to boost numbers periodically by opening them.

Given that the thesis has a special reference to Kōbō Daishi, a similar treatment to the above on the Kōbō Daishi halls at the temple needs to be done, addressing aspects such as how people relate to these, whether they can go into them, etc. In the Shikoku pilgrimage, two halls are to be visited by the pilgrim, the *hon-dō* and the *daishi-dō*, where, in the latter, a statue of Kōbō Daishi is enshrined:

うかね。やっぱり外国から来られたり、で。(笑い)
一同：(笑い)
。。。SON：っていうか、どげ、日本人はま、神さまみたいな形で拝みる、ぎんぐ結局、それが当たり前という感じに。元はほら言うたら、中国から日本に渡ってきて、日本でまた別の進化した感じになるんね。で、やっぱりそういうふうにぼくらは教えられてるきに、よけい、なんともそんなこと思うたことないわね。うん。
ME：そうですね。
SON：それが当たり前、こうするのが当たり前という感じでもう、こ、小さいときから教えられとるきに、（？）でもそうでしょうが、あの、ギンザの、あのいて、「賽銭箱投げて、拝みなさいよ、頭が利口になりますように拝みなさいよ」とかやっぱり言われてるから。
。。。SON：「これはこういうふうにしなさいよ」とか、全部こう、形式でばんばんばんと植え込まれてるみたいな形やきにね。
ME：そうですね。まあ、やっぱりにほ、日本のいろいろもうきま、そのルールが、なんていう、ちゃんと形になってるです、そのルーツもあり、ま、最初は何、ろうそくしてそのあとお線香あげて、そのあと、ま、お賽銭あげて、それまあ、般若心経とか読んで、もうちゃんと決まっとるんですけどね。ま、やっぱり、うん、ま、いいと思いますけどね。
うん。
SON：ま、だいたい日本人自体がもう、だからこう順番、みんな、みんなが同じことをしなさいよという感じのやっぱりこう、じん、人種じゃないのかね。結局ほんでこうしたら（？）、なんでもこう順番にしていきなさいよということをやっぱり教えられとるきに、やっぱりそうじゃないのかね。
ME：やっぱり、うん、そうですね、やっぱりちゃんと形つくらないと、ぐっちゃぐちゃになっちまうんですもんね。
SON：うん、で、結局当然やっておられるように、やっぱりしちゅうんじゃないのかね。

Plate 22: Pilgrims standing outside in front of the *daishi-dō* of temple #33, Sekkei-ji praying to the Daishi-statue, which is inside; photograph taken 17 March 2007

Pilgrims can also not go into these Daishi-halls, and do perform rituals similar to what they conduct at the *hon-dō*. However, unlike the *hon-dō* is that, in most instances, the *daishi-zō* is <u>not</u> a *hibutsu*. Yes, pilgrims cannot enter either halls, so there is still a deliberate boundary between 'sacred' (the space marked through the hall: inside, where the statue (*honzon* or *daishi-zō* 'resides') and 'less sacred' (the space outside: where the pilgrims are), but if they wished, they could see the Daishi-statue by looking through the glass window of the entrance doors of the Daishi-hall, whereas, in most instances, the *honzon* cannot be seen.

Kōbō Daishi is believed to be in 定 *jō*, *eternal samādhi*, and to be with Maitreya in the Tuşita heaven; he was born human but became a 仏 *hotoke*, Buddha. But a 'Buddha' in what sense? In classical Buddhist terms, the possibilities for someone who is some kind of 'Buddha' are:

> a) he became a 等正覚 *tōshōgaku*, *samyak-sambuddha*, a perfectly enlightened one, like Śākyamuni, with unlimited wisdom;
>
> b) he was a manifestation of an already enlightened *samyak-sambuddha*;

c) he became a 聲聞 *shōmon*, *śrāvaka-buddha*, an *Arhat* – perhaps of the kind that came to be believed in Chinese Buddhism- which has the idea of some of these (such as Binzuru (Piṇḍola-bhāradvāya, who is mentioned on pages 233-238, esp. note 392 on page 236) staying somehow 'alive' after their death (like Kōbō Daishi) until Maitreya Buddha comes);

d) he became a 辟支佛 *byakushi-butsu*, *pratyeka-buddha*, a solitary Buddha.

But d) only arise when there is no teaching of a Buddha in the world. Regarding b), this is a possibility, but I have never heard or read that someone would say this about Kōbō Daishi. Regarding c) yes, and *Arhats* and also Buddhas and advanced *Bodhisattvas* are sometimes seen to have the psychic power to be in many places at once (like Kōbō Daishi), and to know what people are thinking, but I do not think than anyone would call Kōbō Daishi a 羅漢 *rakan*. Regarding a), Kōbō Daishi is believed to have achieved 即身成仏 *sokushin jōbutsu* (attaining complete and absolute enlightenment in this very existence), which was one of his fundamental teachings, so this could be the closest match, but I do not see him to be regarded in the same way as Buddhas such as Śākyamuni, although through the practice of Shingon, he is believed to have become a perfect Buddha in his very body. His teachings are seen to completely include all teachings: "The four characters *soku-shin-jō-butsu* contain infinite meanings; there is nothing in all the various Buddhist doctrines that they do not contain" (Kōbō Daishi, *sokushinjōbutsu-gi*, quoted in Snodgrass, 1997: 14). And in the 十住心論 *Jūjū shin ron*, the *Ten Stages of the Mind*, Kūkai

> stratified ten different levels of consciousness from the lowest level of animals to the highest esoteric and sublime mind of Buddha. This is a most comprehensive classification of all levels of beings in an appropriate order. Despite the graded difference of the ten stages of the minds, when a practitioner realized that the Dhyānic concentration of the Buddha ground, all these different levels of minds are absolutely integrated, resulting in one-in-all, all-in-one state of consciousness. (Etō, 2001: 56).

So, as explained in his own teachings, Kōbō Daishi is seen to have achieved the highest spiritual quality, embodying all perfections[248]. But important here is how my informants see him, and they do not talk about him being like a *Tathāgata*/*Nyorai*: for contemporary pilgrims, in their understanding, he is closer to humans, helping, supporting and guiding pilgrims and those who believe in him, actively, here-and-now, as was explained with many examples in this thesis (such as the diary of Hana, page 134). Much of this makes him sound like a *Bodhisattva* (of which there are various levels); as stated on page 113, he is seen to be currently with the advanced Maitreya *Bodhisattva* in the Tuşita Heaven, waiting a time to return to earth. For believers, he is not a far-away deity, but he is 'one of us'. Some might even say that, for them, Kōbō Daishi is indeed here on earth in limitless manifestations, and they even see his statues as 'alive', in the sense of having a 'spirit' – much the same as they relate to the *honzon*, as explained above – but closer to humans than a *honzon*: A special example is temple #55, Nankō-bō, which has a *daishi-zō*[249] as *hibutsu*.

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[248] As he has reached the tenth stage in his life. His 'ten stages' are as follows:

1. *Ishō-teiyō-shin*: The ram-like mind of profane people (these people dwell in *san-akushi:* the three evil realms: hell, hungry spirits and beasts, and will not escape the circle of rebirths).
2. *Gudō-jisai-shin*: The mind of child-like people who keep moral commandments (people who have awakened to moral virtue; Kōbō Daishi sees the Confucianists in this category).
3. *Yōdō-mui-shin*: The mind like that of little children who are not afraid (Kōbō Daishi sees Hindus and Taoists in this stage, and as being still misled).
4. *Yuiun-muga-shin*: The the mind that acknowledges only the five aggregates (Jp: *un*, Skt: *skandhas*) and not the permanent Self-nature (Kōbō Daishi sees the Śrāvakayāna, the followers of the historical doctrines of the Buddha (including the Four Noble Truths) and asceticism in this category).
5. *Batsugō-inshu-shin*: The mind that eradicates the seed or cause of karma (for Kōbō Daishi all those who wish to become an *Arahat*, and not a *Bodhisattva*).
6. *Taen-daijō-shin*: The Mahāyāna mind that compassionately and unconditionally wishes for supreme welfare for others (for Kōbō Daishi, the Hossō-*shū*).
7. *Kakushin-fushō-shin*: The mind that has transcended the dichotomy of being and non-being (for Kōbō Daishi, the Sanron/Mādhyamika school), representing only one aspect of Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana *Tathāgata*), that of the *samādhi* experienced by Monju *Bosatsu* (Maňjuśri *Bodhisattva*).
8. *Ichidō-muishin*: The mind that acknowledges the absolute middle and transcends the phenomenal world (Kōbō Daishi puts the Tendai (Chinese: T'ien-t'ai) school here), representing the *samādhi* experienced by Kannon *Bosatsu* (Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*).
9. *Gokumujishō-shin*: The exoteric mind that advocates ultimate non-substantiality and interdependent causality (the mind that has reached the stage of enlightenment of Fugen *Bosatsu* (Samantabhadra *Bodhisattva*). Kōbō Daishi sees the followers of the Kegon-*shū* in this category.
10. *Himitsu-shōgon-shin*: The glorious esoteric and sublime Shingon mind (which, in Shingon doctrine, is the ultimate state of being completely one with Dainichi *Nyorai*).

(Iwano, 1991: 166-167; Hakeda, 1972: 67-75).

[249] 大師像: statue of Kōbō Daishi.

Built in 1917, the roof of the *daishi-dō* was damaged in an earthquake in 2002, so they decided to dismantle and rebuild the entire hall, with a re-opening ceremony held on 19 November 2010. Its *daishi-zō* had been kept locked away in its hall in a large, wooden box, which was too heavy to be carried out (to temporarily relocate it into the *hon-dō*), so they opened it to first bring out the statue (surprisingly, it contained a statue that was only 75cm tall), and then the rest of the dismantled container. Examining the *daishi-zō*, they found inscriptions (inside its base), stating that it was produced in 1627 by an artist by the name of Kanzaimon[250]. I was told that one can generally see *daishi-zō* at pilgrimage temples because Kōbō Daishi is "is a human being himself, and he is not Buddha"; indeed Ms Itawaki goes on to say about their own *daishi-zō* "I like the *daishi-zō* because he is a really handsome guy!" [251] (here, he is looked at as if he – and indeed this statue – was a human). Why is this particular *daishi-zō,* unlike at other pilgrimage temples, kept as a *hibutsu*? I was told that their statue was kept hidden because their great-grandfather left a message that it should be, but they don't know the reason why (ibid.). Her brother, Rev. Itawaki Shunkyō, head priest of temple #55, Nankō-bō, called their Daishi-statue "別宮のお大師さん", "*bekku no o-Daishi-san"*, with '*bekku*' relating to their part of the city where their temple is located (Itawaki Shunkyō, 2010: 12). So, their Daishi is the Daishi of their township, relating to how bonded together they see their neighbours and 'their' Daishi. Their *daishi-zō*[252] was however shown during this ceremony, when *danka*-members carried it out from the *hon-dō* of #55 into their newly constructed *daishi-dō*. Their *hibutsu-daishi-zō* on that occasion can be examined on the following plate 23.

In the above recording of the Ozaki family, they used the word *kami*, which is Shinto, interchangeably with *honzon*, which is Buddhist. They also talked about rituals that they learned at Shrines and temples. There seems to be a close connection between Shinto and Buddhism in their minds. Further questions arise here: If it is just the way that they were taught, what exactly were they taught? How about their own religious affiliation, and what do they think about 'religion' and the relation of Shinto

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[250] Iyo Tetsu, 2010b: 1; Ms Itawaki, personal e-mail communication, 3 February 2010.

[251] Ms Itawaki, personal e-mail communication, 10 June 2011, in English.

[252] During World War II, on 6 August 1945, due to American B-29 bombers, everything was burnt down, except for their *daishi-dō*. The neighbours had been taking shelter from the bombing under the *daishi-dō,* and so they were saved; this was attributed to the saviour Kōbō Daishi's protective powers.

and Buddhism? How do pilgrims behave and understand these issues? For example, what do they do (and why) at pilgrimage sites that also have a Shrine? In other words, what was first addressed in this thesis in the part ‘religion and religious in Japan’ in general terms, will be brought into the explicit context of contemporary understanding of pilgrims.

Plate 23: Parishioners carefully carrying the Daishi-statue, produced in 1627 (which had been a *hibutsu* since at least four generations) from the main hall of temple #55, Nankō-bō, where it had been kept safe, into their newly constructed Daishi-hall (where it will be a *hibutsu* again). Photograph courtesy of Itawaki Yuka, taken on 19 November 2010

The relation of Shinto and Buddhism and related rituals and contemporary pilgrims' understanding; their own religious affiliation and thoughts about 'religion'

Plate 24: Temple #27, Kōnomine-ji, showing both the Buddhist and Shinto entrance gates; photograph taken on 5 December 2009

Since the arrival of Buddhism in Japan in the 6th century, until the Meiji-Period (1868-1912), Japan enjoyed a state of *shinbutsu-shūgō*[253]. Buddhist temples and Shinto Shrines coexisted, and in fact often occupied the same grounds, even the same buildings. From the 8th century on, Buddhism increased its influence, and many Shrines came to include a *honji-butsu*[254]. This word relates to the term *honji-suijaku*[255], which means that the Shinto *kami* are manifestations of Buddhas and

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[253] 神仏習合. The syncretism of Shinto and Buddhism into a wider system (for the Buddhist, this union was not a merger of equals…).

[254] 本地仏: "Buddhas 'incarnated' in *kami*… Thus Dainichi Nyorai… was the *honji-butsu* of the sun *kami* Amaterasu-Ōmikami" (Louis Frédéric, 2002: 349).

[255] 本地垂迹 *honji* = lit. *original ground*, *suijaku* = lit. *trace*), meaning that Buddhist deities are the *honji* (in other words, their true form and substance) of the Shinto *kami*, and the *kami* are the *suijaku* (in other words, the form appearing in the world to save sentient beings) of the Buddhist deities. "The term honji suijaku refers to the idea that the Buddhist deities provisionally appear as Shinto kami in order to spiritually save sentient beings in Japan". Quote found at, and for further discussion see: Encyclopedia of Shinto, retrieved 6 January 2011:

bodhisattvas, to help humans on the Buddhist way. Fabio Rambelli and Mark Teeuwen translate it as "the original form of deities and their local traces" (2001: i). So, many shrines became *jingū-ji*[256]. During the Meiji-Period, a revival of nationalistic feelings took place (Ono and Woodard 2003: 72), and a movement to suppress and finally destroy Buddhism started[257] with the slogan *haibutsu kishaku!*[258] In 1868, the government issued the *shinbutsu bunri*[259] and ordered all Shinto shrines to register their history with the government as well as to remove all Buddhist images. An outburst of anti-Buddhist activity, fuelled by nationalistic ideals and devotion to the new god-like *tennō* (Emperor), took place, and Jansen reports that in some cases, violent riots were organised by Shinto priests, which destroyed Buddhist temples and many priceless *sūtra* manuscripts and pieces of art (Jansen, 2002: 352). One of the results was that temples and shrines were now separated. But how do contemporary pilgrims relate to the connection of Shinto and Buddhism, and how does it, if it does at all, influence their ritual behaviour? And, building up on this, what is the place of Kōbō Daishi for them in this, and, as broader issues, what are the multiple focuses of divine power, such as various Buddhist deities, Kōbō Daishi, and *kami*, and what role does the o-Daishi-*sama* have in this?

Throughout the pilgrimage, I came across 41 temples out of the 88, which were, at the present time, connected to, or close to, Shinto shrines, or even where shrines and temple buildings occupied the same compound, sometimes even using the same entrance gate[260].

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http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=1356.

[256] 神宮寺, shrine-temple.

[257] The ramifications of the, *haibutsu-kishaku* campaign were more complex than can be outlined here – the campaign was very regional (so in Shikoku, Tosa/Kochi was more affected than Sanuki/Kagawa – and not all shrines and temples were affected across the country. In Shikoku, for example, seven pilgrimage places changed in some way, when shrine-temple complexes were broken up. The result was a heavier focus on Buddhism- after *haibutsu* all the 88 places were temples; prior, seven had a mixed affiliation. For an analysis of Shinto and Buddhism in the Meiji Period and *haibutsu-kishaku*, see Pussel (2010b: 92-98).

[258] 廃仏毀釈, Eradicate Buddhism and Destroy the Buddhas!

[259] 神仏分離. Decree for Separation of Shinto and Buddhism.

[260] Based on my observations, these are the pilgrimage temples in Shikoku that still have a Shinto shrine in or near the compound:

11 temples in Tokushima: #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #6, #9, #13, #14, #15, #16
8 temples in Kōchi: #25, #27, #30, #31, #32, #33, #37, #38
12 temples in Ehime: #40, #41, #44, #49, #50, #55, #56, #57, #59, #61, #62, #64
11 temples in Kagawa: #66, #67, #69, #70, #71, #72, #74, #75, #78, #79, #83
Total: 41 = 47% of the 88 temples

For example, temple #55 has a Shinto shrine next to the temple buildings. Ms Itawaki of temple #55 told me[261] that this is a good thing because *kami* and *hotoke* should be together. Indeed, pilgrims usually visit both places, this shrine and their temple. She said that this is the right thing to do, because *hotoke* and *kami*, Buddhism and Shinto, are "both sides of one coin". She did not find this strange, because "in Hinduism there are also many gods". The temple's head priest (her brother) and the *guji* (shrine head priest) are good friends since childhood, and sometimes meet to discuss matters or plan events. Furthermore, her brother, after morning ceremonies, whenever he has time, also visits the shrine to perform prayers there.

Temple #13 is another good example: The temple, then called "Ichinomiya-ji" coexisted with the Shinto Shrine "Ichinomiya-Jinja", and pilgrims would visit both, the temple and the shrine[262]. This photograph shows the temple on the right side (*hon-dō* in the background, *daishi-dō* in the foreground, as well as a view of the belfry and the small entrance gate), and the shrine on the left; its entrance is marked with two stone pillars, in which "Ichinomiya-Jinja" is inscribed:

Plate 25: At temple #13, Dainichi-ji: the temple on the right side, and the shrine on the left; photograph taken on 25 August 2008

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[261] On 31 October 2010.

[262] However, through *haibutsu-kishaku*, much of the temple was destroyed, and after Meiji, it was rebuilt and changed its name from Ichinomiya-ji to Dainichi-ji.

Temple #34, Tanema-ji, does not have a proper Shinto-shrine in or near its compound, but it is still an interesting example of the harmonious connection between Shinto and Buddhism: there is a newly constructed Shinto-entrance gate (*torī*), *through which the priest and his family have to pass in order to get to the entrance of their living quarters*, which are located within the temple compound:

Plate 26: Temple #34, Tanema-ji: *Hōjō*[263] with *torī*; photograph taken on 20 October 2010

The most recent example that struck me was that of Zen-novice priests[264] of Sōji-ji (one of the two of Sōtō-*shū*'s 大本山 *daihonzan*, head monasteries[265]), making ritual offering of incense at an Inari-jinja, standing under a line of Shinto *torī*, entrance markers to this 'sacred' space:

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[263] The living quarters of the head priest are traditionally called 方丈, *hōjō*.

[264] 雲水, *unsui*, literally *cloud-water*.

[265] These are Eihei-ji 永平寺 in Fukui and 総持寺 Sōji-ji in Yokohama.

Plate 27: *Unsui*-priests-in-training of the head monastery Sōji-ji (Sōtō-*shū*), offering incense at an Inari-jinja, standing under a line of Shinto *torī*; photograph taken in January 2011 (in: Sōji-ji, 2011: 38)

Interesting here is the actual coexistence in pilgrims' activities and worship. Based on my observation, many contemporary pilgrims visit both the temple and – albeit briefly – the shrine at temple #13[266]. Indeed, the husband of the group at the *shukubō* of temple #38 recalled that there was a Shinto shrine next to temple of #13. His wife told us that she belonged to Shingon, and that one is automatically born as a member of a school of Buddhism. Man 2 in our round belonged to Jōdō-shin-shū. The man 2 of temple #75 told us that it is irrelevant which religion one belongs to if one wants to make the Shikoku pilgrimage. According to the husband at #38, Japanese pray at Shinto shrines and at Buddhist temples, and he guessed that it is fine to visit shrine and temple as a pilgrim, and his wife said that this is a very good thing to do. And: he

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[266] And did so at other instances, too, where the Shrine is conveniently close to the temple.

and his wife said “that’s how Japanese people do it”[267], and his wife added, laughingly “Right? *Kami-sama* is *kami-sama… Hotoke-sama* is *hotoke-sama*.”[268]. They continued explaining to me:

> WIFE：Right, shrines are for New Year.
> … HUSBAND：Anything is okay for Japanese people.
> … WIFE：Anything.
> HUSBAND：We accept anything.
> WIFE：Well, Japanese, we have both *kami-sama* and *hotoke-sama* in us[269].

Mixed Shinto and Buddhist beliefs on people’s post-mortem state

The Ozaki’s daughter-in-law said that humans die and become a *hotoke*, and after 33 years or 50 years this *hotoke* becomes a *kami*, which her husband confirms, so she guessed that it is alright that Shinto and Buddhism have a good relationship[270]. How do the dead (with ritual help) become *hotoke* or Buddhas, and in what sense ‘Buddhas’? Are they seen as become Buddhas like *Śākyamuni?*

Duncan Ryūken Williams explains very well:

> The logic behind memorial rites… evolved from folk beliefs about commemorating ancestors and Buddhist ideas about the spirits of the dead. The folk belief was that the spirit required time to settle down from the upheaval of death and rid itself from death’s pollution. The Buddhist belief was that the spirit needed time and merit (produced either by one’s own disciplines or dedicated by someone else) to cancel the heavy weight of bad karma that the deceased had accumulated. On the one hand, then, the goal… was to help the dead spirit settle down and become purified through the ritual intercession of the living, which transformed the polluted body intro a venerated ancestor. On the other hand, not only was the goal to help the dead join the collective ancestral body of the household, but, through the

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[267] もう日本人はね。

[268] (笑い) : ね。神さまは神さまで。。。仏さまは仏さまで。

[269] WIFE : そうなの。お正月は神社。
。。。HUSBAND : 日本人は何でもいいの。
。。。WIFE : なんでもいい。
HUSBAND : 何でも受け入れるんですよ、だって。
WIFE : あのね、日本人はね、神さまと仏さまってあんのよ、やっぱり。ね。

[270] 人間死んだら仏になって、仏が今度、何年、ま、３３年になったりとかいうたら、とか、ま、５０年とか、そうなったら神になるっていう最後は、っていうことからきてるから、別に仲良しでかまわないがでしょうかね。

> cancellation of karma, the deceased (often dwelling in the hungry ghosts or hell realms) could transform into the body of the Buddha or, at least, into a resident of the higher of the six realms in Buddhist cosmology[271] (Williams, 2005: 46-47)… The notion that dead spirits remained in a state of pollution and instability, needing appeasement and taming, existed prior to the advent of Buddhism in Japan… While ordinary people believed that some spirits easily found tranquillity and a new residence (mountain tops being a common place[272, 273]), many spirits were thought to be unstable and even dangerous if appropriate ritual action was not taken to appease them or ward them off… By the late medieval period this had created a pervasive belief that… rites functioned to purify the dead and to provide for their welfare, but also to escape harm from those spirits prone to attack or possess the living, or to cause calmatives or epidemics… Through these rituals, people hoped to placate the spirits so that they would transform into either a benign ancestor or guardian spirits who could protect the family or the village… The multivalence of death was succinctly captured in the term *hotoke*,… which could "signify variously Buddha, ancestral spirit, and the spirit of the dead". Although scholars disagree as to why and when the term came into usage to refer to the dead, and dispute the original meaning of "Buddha", by the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) the doctrinal meaning of the term referred to an enlightened person overlapping with the popular meaning of the dead. So while the rhetoric of… priests focused on the fact that their funerals would send the deceased into "the land of the Buddha", and enable them to "achieve the same state as Buddha" or "join Buddha's family", they simultaneously… [made it clear] that the "spirit" also needed care over time (46).

In other words, *hotoke* can now mean both a Buddha, as well as, in colloquial Japanese, a dead person or the soul of a dead person (Iwano, 1991: 132). It will be important to note for the part on death and the Shikoku pilgrimage, that memorialising the dead is important because the spirits of the dead need to be cleaned from pollution and accumulated bad karma, so as to settle down (from their unrest and dwelling in bad realms) and transform (through purifying, and thus enlightening) into a person who could reside in a Buddha's land (such as *Gokuraku*, Amida's Pure Land, or *Fudaraku*, Kannon's Pure Land), to join 'Buddhas family'

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[271] 六道 *rokudō*, the six realms of transmigration of living beings (hell beings, hungry spirits, animals, *ashura* (Sk. *asura*; enemies of the gods), humans, and celestial beings in a heavenly rebirth).

[272] One can see how all these forms of beliefs come together in Japan, with mountain tops regarded as one of the residing places of Shinto *kami*, and, indeed, the esoteric Shingon is "a religion of the mountains… and [as a kind of connection go Shinto] [its] doctrine, known as *honji-suijaku*, held, for example, that the Sun Goddess Amaterasu was he incarnation of Mahāvairocana, the central Buddha of the Shingon pantheon…" (Hakeda, 1972: 8).

[273] See also explanation of Itawaki on page 248.

there. Indeed, I overheard a pilgrim say that he wants to 'go to Gokuraku'[274, 275]. To aid going and staying there, initial[276] and continued ritual is necessary[277]. Important to note is that 'bad' or 'dirty' (in the sense of polluted) spirits were thought to be dangerous, harming the family (for example, through causing illnesses or accidents) and even their village (for example, through sending droughts), so one needed to appease them through rites (such as conducting the pilgrimage), so that they would calm down and become then protecting guardian spirits of the family and/or village. One can see how folk belief, Shinto and Buddhism came to be mixed in a somewhat unclear way. For these informants, this also includes Kōbō Daishi, who also aids in these matters: The grandfather said that in his experience, pilgrims would visit both Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, and he himself did that, too, and he used the term *jinja bukkaku*[278], and at the end, he gives an interesting reference to Kōbō Daishi:

> SON : Japanese people have certain shrines and temples that they go to. There's no one who never goes to any shrine or temple at all….They'd go to a shrine or temple for New Year.
>
> ELDERLY MAN：*Jinja bukkaku*.
>
> SON：To pray. They would at least go to one place[279].

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[274] On 20 May 2011,「極楽に行きたいもんね」。

[275] Pure Lands are seen as realms whose conditions are ideal for helping a person to become enlightened.

[276] This is a major source of income for Japanese temples.The funeral rites consist of firstly offering incense, flowers, lamps or candles, to accumulate merit for the newly deceased spirit. Then, a symbolic tonsure is performed, precepts are given, the deceased is believed to repent his or her sins, followed by sprinkling of 'pure' water to finalise the refuge-taking of the deceased into Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha*, completed by handing the lineage-chart (*ketsumyaku* or *kechimyaku* 血脈, bloodline-certificare), which certifies that the recipient (deceased) is now one in the rank of the Buddha. This is because it is believed in Japanese Buddhism that "when living beings receive Buddha's precepts, they enter the rank of all the Buddhas. When one's rank is the same as the greatly awakened, truly one is a child of all the Buddhas" (Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 2010: 448); all this is performed so that the deceased "may cross over to the pure land; that his/her karmic afflictions will fade away;… and that Buddha will bestow prediction of a birth" (450).

[277] 年忌 *nenki*. Anniversary ceremonies of the death of a person, traditionally held on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 17th, 23rd, 27th, 33rd, 37th, 50th, 100th anniversaries. This is another major source of income for Japanese temples.

[278] 神社仏閣 Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples.

[279] SON：けどたいていの人間は神社、仏閣はたいていどこどこへお参りしよんねん。行てないということはまずありえんでしょうね。。。結局お正月もほら神社とか、ま、どこ、どこぞで。
ELDERLY MAN：神社仏閣。
SON：お参りするわけやな。それでたぶん１カ所は絶対どこぞは行きよるんです。
。。。ELDERLY MAN：で、あの、これなんかもちゃんと朝、あの線香あげたときにもやっぱりあの、先祖から弘法大師からずっと順番に拝んでから何するいう、習慣つけてますけえ。ええことやと思いますよ。やっぱりあの神仏いかのやっぱりすが

> … ELDERLY MAN : It’s my morning routine to offer incense sticks and pray to my ancestors and Kōbō Daishi. I think it’s good to do that. Man can’t live without the mercy[280] of *kami* and Buddha.

His ritual habit is to make offerings to his ancestors and Kōbō Daishi, and he explains these actions with “Man can’t live without the mercy of *kami* and Buddha”. Here, he appeases his ancestors and honours o-Daishi-*sama* with offerings, and in return receives mercy and blessings from *kami* (which not only means Shinto *kami* but also his ancestors) and Buddhas – and together with all of the venerated ancestors, Shinto *kami* and Buddhist *hotoke*, Kōbō Daishi is connected, or ‘living’, existing. I read him as thoroughly believing that pleased ancestors are protecting guardians (who need to be cared for over time in order to be able to continue to be so) and also, and this is very important, that Kōbō Daishi is omnipresent: existing in some other other realm (in Tuşita Heaven) but also, at the same time, here and now, present in this very world, actively supporting and helping those who believe and honour him. Thus, families have four protecting guardians: pleased ancestors, the ever-present and watchful Kōbō Daishi (as the Ozaki father said: “It’s my morning routine to offer incense sticks and pray to my ancestors and Kōbō Daishi”), and Buddhist deities and Shinto *kami*. Indeed, as will be analysed later, he said that doing the pilgrimage accumulates merit, and the more often one does it, the more ‘blessings’ one receives, and, as I understand it, the more ancestors are appeased, so that they would calm down and become then protecting guardian spirits, and the merit of doing the pilgrimage also pleases Kōbō Daishi, who also then becomes even more of a protector by extending this protection and ‘blessing’ to the dead as well as to the living family members.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at the sacred foci of the pilgrimage (Buddhist deities, Kōbō Daishi, and *kami*). While doing this, it introduced, for the first time to the outside, a photograph of the *hibutsu-honzon* of temple #58, Senyū-ji[281, 282], as well as of the

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らな人間は生きていけんです。

[280] すがる, *sugaru*.

[281] Even the state-run television NHK was not able to receive permission to take a photograph

hibutsu-statue of Kōbō Daishi of temple #55, Nankō-bō. These have never been made public before and shall serve as reference for future researchers. Also, a photograph of the *hibutsu-honzon* of Tōen-bō, which is connected to temple #55, has been published here for comparison. This Daitsūchishō-Nyorai is a very rare statue enshrined in a temple in Japan[283]. The chapter also looked at pilgrims' religious affiliation and thoughts about 'religion', their understanding of the *honzon* and *daishi-zō*, the relation of Buddhism and Shinto, and the influence of both on ideas of what happens to a person after death.

Important here is also that pilgrims talk to me about a *honzon*-image as if it is the deity that it depicts, or at least as one of its manifestations, as they regard it as 'alive', having a 'spirit' (one person added that they need 'quiet privacy'). I see my informants as being representative of the mass of pilgrims, because I experienced how much people in Japan personalise their relationships with deities and Buddha figures and how they do see visits to shrines and temples to worship particular figures, as going to see them. This chapter has given an example of how the *honzon*'s power is seen to be so strong so that it/he needed to be locked away to protect the pilgrim (and also so that it won't lose its powers over time), and at the same time that the pilgrim is 'impure' and so should avoid 'pollution' of the *honzon* by looking at it or touching it. Two halls are to be visited by the pilgrim, the *hon-dō* and the *daishi-dō*, and the pilgrims generally stand outside: there is still a clear boundary between 'sacred' (inside) and 'less sacred' (outside), but if they wished, they could see the Daishi-statue by looking through the glass window of the entrance doors of the Daishi-hall, whereas, in most instances, the *honzon* cannot be seen. As this research has shown, pilgrims feel that Kōbō Daishi is 'closer' to humans. Indeed, he was born human but became some kind of Buddha in his very body. In his work *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* ('Attaining Enlightenment in this Very Existence'; full text in Hakeda,

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of the *hibutsu* of #58 for their publication (Sakurai/NHK, 2002: 132-133, which depicts only the *maebutsu*).

[282] Harvey has included it, acknowledging us as source, in his forthcoming second edition of his 1990: *Introduction to Buddhism*.

[283] As far as my research revealed, Daitsūchishō-*Nyorai* is only enshrined at four temples in Japan, all of which are located rather close by Imabari-city in Ehime Prefecture. I was able to examine and photograph all four statues

1. Tōen-bō (GPS data: see note 237 on page 144): hands in *riken-in mudrā.*
2. Zenō-ji (lat. 33.947, 132.7943, alt. 16m): hands in in *zazen- mudrā.*
3. Daitsu-ji (lat. 33.978, lat. 132.7891, alt. 16m): hands in in *zazen- mudrā.*
4. Kōun-ji's Daitsu-an (lat. 34.241047, long. 133.04855, alt. 25m): hands in *hi-in mudrā*, hidden under *o-kesa*.

1972: 225-234), Kōbō Daishi outlined his Shingon philosophy in that everybody can attain complete enlightenment here and now, in this life, without having to wait for rebirth in this or another world, this being by the practice of the *sanmitsu*, Three Mysteries: practice of religious by ritual actions of body (gestures), speech (verse) and mind (meditation), 'transforming' the practitioner into an enlightened state. So, Kōbō Daishi exists, here and now, somewhere on the boundaries of Buddha-worlds and this-world; being 'alive' in his mausoleum, and at the same time *omnipresent* in limitless manifestations, including in Shikoku, helping, supporting and guiding pilgrims and those who believe in him (as this chapter has given many examples of such pilgrims): "This type of borderline position has an immense fascination for people", as Hoshino states (1997: 296). All of this makes Kōbō Daishi more accessible to believers than the other deities (as one informant said: "I have come to meet o-Daishi-sama in Shikoku"[284]). This chapter has explained, with examples of contemporary pilgrims, that they accept these matters as customs, and traditions to follow without thinking about them too much. Others said, for example, that keeping statues locked away protects them and keeps their 'sacredness'. One informant said that humans die and become a *hotoke*, and after 33 years or 50 years this *hotoke* becomes a *kami*. What was first addressed in this thesis in the part 'religion and religious in Japan' in broad terms, was brought into the immediate context of contemporary understanding of pilgrims, when this chapter explained how the dead (with ritual help) are seen to become *hotoke*. In this instance, this term does not mean exactly 'a Buddha', but a deceased person who has, through being ritually purified, transformed into a person who is suitable to reside in a Buddha's land, part of a Buddha's 'family'. Interesting here was the actual coexistence in pilgrims' activities and worship, when they, on observations in this fieldwork, visited both the temple and the Shinto shrine nearby. This chapter had analysed the pilgrims' understandings in this regard, and, indeed, as one concluded "we Japanese, we have both *kami-sama* and *hotoke-sama* in us". For my informants, memorialising the dead was important because the spirits of the dead were seen to have to be cleaned from pollution and accumulated bad karma, because 'bad' or 'dirty' (in the sense of polluted) spirits were thought to be dangerous, harming the family and even the village, so one needed to appease them through rites (such as conducting the pilgrimage), so that

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[284] See also for example Nishikawa's comment about his starting the pilgrimage tomorrow: "I'm going to visit and honour o-Daishi-san" (note 390 on page 235).

they would calm down and become then protecting guardian spirits. For my informants, these protecting guardian spirits thus also included Kōbō Daishi. By pleasing ancestors, Shinto *kami*, Buddhas and Kōbō Daishi (and appeasing ancestors and Kōbō Daishi), they receive in return mercy and blessings from all of them. Kōbō Daishi is seen as ever watchful, and the merit of doing the pilgrimage further pleases Kōbō Daishi, who also then becomes even more of a protector through extending this protection and 'blessing' to the dead as well as to the living family members. Death, ancestor memorial and related rites and customs, and the role that Kōbō Daishi plays in this, are an important area to look at for pilgrims' understanding.

In the next chapter, we move on to analyse how contemporary pilgrims see their ritual steps which they engage in at the temples, their pilgrimage items and related rituals (and who regards which as how important, and why). So, the thesis will drill down deeper: in the present chapter, it was about peoples' beliefs and general practices, and now the thesis will examine pilgrimage items, related ritual behaviour, and pilgrims' views of the significance of ways of doing the pilgrimage.

Chapter 5: Pilgrimage items, related ritual behaviour, and pilgrims' views of the significance of ways of doing the pilgrimage

Next, various kinds of pilgrimage behaviour need to be analysed, and that includes the meaning of various items and behaviour patterns as experienced by the pilgrims, and after this, pilgrims' views of the significance of ways of doing the pilgrimage will be looked at.

A head priest of a pilgrimage temple told Joanne Hershfield that "all rituals begin with form" (1992: min. 12), and *nōkyō-sho* officials whom I asked about whether one would better wear the pilgrimage attire when doing the pilgrimage, gave me the same answer, as did the head priest of temple #2: "*katachi dewanaku, kokoro ga daiji desu*", "*not the shape matters, but the heart/spirit is important*". But when asked about why pilgrimage clothing is important, they would answer "*katachi ga kokoro o tsukuru*", "*the shape builds the heart/spirit*". In other words, the spiritual attitude of the pilgrim is more important than the outside form, but on the other hand, the outside form shapes his or her spiritual attitude.

Do pilgrims really see it as this? How *do* contemporary pilgrims understand the pilgrimage items and related rituals? For example, the Ozaki-family had a *kakejiku* (these terms will be explained below) in their *tokonoma*[285] (and some more stored away), the *osugata* framed hung up on the wall, the *tsue*, *hakue* and *sugegasa* also in their *tokomona*, had handcrafted *nōkyō-chō* (and later purchased additional ones) – having collected nine booklets altogether –, and owned books for collecting the *osugata* slips: so what meanings do these have for the family?

While it will be shown below that one of the features of this pilgrimage is that in fact pilgrims are free to choose what they wear and carry with them as well as how much to engage in ritual behaviour (such as worshipping at the temples), some items are seen as essential by guidebooks and *sendatsu* advice. In other words, pilgrims are

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[285] 床の間, a*lcove for art*.

free to decide themselves what to wear and what to carry, even though there is a common menu of items, some presented as 'essential', for them to select from, or ignore. The husband with whom I talked over dinner at temple #38 on 29 October 2010 was wearing the pilgrimage outfit, and, when asked about this, he replied "'When in Rome, do as the Romans do', right? When you are visiting a place, you should do as the people there do. If they say I need the white clothes with '*Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*' on the back, I would follow. 'That's how they do it.' That's all. That's why I'm wearing it"[286]. But he later added that the pilgrimage is a "sacred thing to do"[287], so I see him to have wanted to underline this understanding by wearing the traditional outfit.

Plate 28: A mannequin dressed in complete pilgrimage attire (wagesa, *hakue*, *sugegasa*, *kongō-tsue*, etc.) at the entrance to an *o-settai* area inside Kōchi-airport, where visitors can change into pilgrimage outfit, have some free tea and sweets, and watch an introductory video of the pilgrimage. A completed *kakejiku* and all pages of the *nōkyō-chō* are displayed on the wall. Photograph taken on 28 April 2009

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[286] 郷に入って、ようはことわざや、郷に入れば郷に従えってあんの。その道だったらそれに従ったらいいよって、いうかいたの。だから、あ、遍路に行くあれはこういうものが必要ですよっちゅえば、じゃ、白衣を着て、背中に、あの、「南無大師遍照金剛」って、ね、それをして、「あ、こうやって行たもんだ」と。それだけだわ。だからそれで来ただけや。

[287] やっぱり神妙だよね。

Wagesa

輪袈裟. This is a circular surplice hung around the neck, worn by priest of the Shingon-*shū* and other denominations. A smaller version is often worn by pilgrims.

Hakue

白衣. *Hakue* is a white jacket, representing purity and death and symbolising the acceptance of death by the pilgrim at any time during the pilgrimage. See also *nōkyō-chō* below for this white cloth used for receiving stamps on it for cremation purposes. Although it is true that older pilgrims tend to wear the white outfit and carry the items, younger pilgrims do not necessarily do so. Miss Yotsumoto Naomi (born 1978) for her NHK-television-walking *henro* series during 2008 wore ordinary hiking clothes, but put an *oizuru* (with sleeves it is called *hakue*, without sleeves it is *oizuru, white vest*) on before entering the temple and engaging in rituals there. This is also found in the example of the N.-family (as mentioned in this thesis, memorialising the deceased husband), where the mother, grandmother and grandfather all wear the white pilgrim outfit, but the daughter, in her twenties, wears 'normal' clothes, and carries no pilgrimage items; nevertheless, she joins her family (and the pilgrimage group they are travelling with in the bus) in worshipping activities.

Sugegasa

菅傘. This is a straw hat, to protect from sunshine or rain. Six lines are written on it, with the Skt. *bīja* (Jp. *bonji*) "*Yu*" for Kōbō Daishi facing front, and "*dōgyō ninin*" facing back; "*mayō ga yue ni sangai no shiro*" ("being lost is due to the three large worlds of desire"), "*satoru ga yue ni juppō ku nari*" ("with enlightenment, 10-thousand skies will appear"), "*honrai tozai nashi*" ("originally, there is no East and West)", "*izukunika nanboku aran*" ("why is there a North and South?") (transl. Kojima, 2007: 27). These phrases are used in Japan in the Shingon tradition as being written on the coffin for cremation, and the *sugegasa* relates to this (however, based on my observations, most pilgrims, especially younger ones, would not know or understand the meaning of the writings on it). Notwithstanding this, it is regarded as an essential item, even if not put onto the head; some use a 'cute' miniature version to hang down from the rucksack (as Miss Yotsumoto Naomi did for her NHK Shikoku walking pilgrim series). Pilgrims that I talked to about this item would tell me that they appreciate its use as protective item against sun and insects, but also, as a male walking pilgrim in his twenties put it, it makes him "feel like a priest" when using it.

Kongō-tsue

Plate 29: Pilgrims of a bus-tour cleaning their *kongō-tsue* before entering the *shukubō*. Photograph taken at temple #6, Anraku-ji on 25 April 2009

金剛杖. This is the staff '*vajra*-stick' or 'diamond stick', is a wooden stick used by pilgrims. This is an essential item; even if no other items are used, this should still be carried by most (such as Yotsumoto Naomi, or several walking pilgrims that I met: their only *henro*-item was this *kongō-tsue* and the *nōkyō-chō*. Also, all pilgrims photographed by Rupp in 2010 (2011: throughout) possess a *kongō-tsue*, of which some were self-made and some were commercially purchased). Pilgrims are told (either by the guidebooks, magazines, *sendatsu*, or NHK television series) that it is regarded as an embodiment of Kōbō Daishi, and as such, would always need to be treated with greatest respect, and, naturally, never forgotten somewhere, such as rest places (which does sometimes happen to exhausted pilgrims)[288]. Before entering any accommodation, first of all, the pilgrim should wipe it clean with a fresh towel, and then to put it into the alcove for art (*tokonoma*) in the room where one will stay for the night, as shown in the above plate.

Plate 29: Reminder that the *kongō-tsue* should not hit the ground when passing over a bridge, as Kōbō Daishi may sleep under it: detail of the rail of the *toyoga-bashi*. Photograph taken near on 7 December 2009

Also, it is tradition, when passing over a bridge, that it is not to hit the ground, as it is said that Kōbō Daishi may sleep under the bridge and he should not be woken up by the sound of the walking stick (such as the 'bridge of ten nights', as explained in this

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[288] As Don Weiss experienced in 1992 at the *bekkaku* # 4, Saba Daishi: Being exhausted, he had forgotten his *kongō-tsue* at their *nōkyō-sho*, and, upon returning there, was told by the officer: "Never forget your stick. It is Kōbō Daishi, who walks with you" (1994: 137).

thesis). The grip of the *kongō-tsue* is shaped like a five-storied pagoda, and on every story the seed syllable (*bīja*) of the respective deity is inscribed: Dainichi *Nyorai* (Mahāvairocana *Tathāgata* – VAM), Shaka *Nyorai* (Śākyamuni Buddha – BHAḤ), Yakushi *Nyorai* (Bhaişajya-Guru *Tathāgata* – BHAI), Jizō *Bosatsu* (Kşitigarba Bodhisattva – HA), and Fudō *Myōō* (Ācāla *Vidyarāya* - HĀṂ); these are all Buddha figures involved in guarding the transition of the deceased as it makes its way to ancestorhood/Pure Land. These inscriptions are protected by silk wrapped around them. Under them, the words are written: *Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō Dōgyō Ninin, Homage to the Saviour Daishi, the Illuminating and Imperishable One! Two are Walking Together*. In former times, the stick also served as a gravestone, should the pilgrim die during the pilgrimage, as he or she would be buried along the pilgrimage trail with the stick placed at the head of the grave as a grave marker. Originally, Iyo-Tetsu of Matsuyama-city in Ehime-Prefecture, the then largest provider of package tours for the Shikoku pilgrimage, had ordered these for their customers at a nearby shop for Buddhist supplies, but in 1976, decided to produce and sell these directly. However, they were difficult to produce in good quality, using the wood they originally used, so they now use *sugi* (cedar) wood grown in neighbouring Kōchi prefecture; at that time, they had the head abbot of temple #48, Sairin-ji, handwrite the *bonji* (*bīja*) on each stick, but now it is printed by machine (Gekkan Henro Henshū-bu, 2003: 82).

O-senkō

お線香. This is stick incense. Candles and incense are offered by the pilgrim at both the *hon-dō* and the *daishi-dō*). A male pilgrim argued in a tone similar to the other male pilgrim at temple #6 above: these are traditions that one follows, but additionally he felt that the smoke of the incense has the following meaning: the smoke is the food of the Buddhas, and that offering three sticks[289] (he was told by a senior pilgrim that offering three sticks is the proper way) refers to the past, present and future and he senses that it supports his asking the Buddhas to be watchful over the rest of the pilgrimage as well as his future life. Kihara explains that traditionally it is believed in Japan that by lighting incense we could receive a Buddha's wisdom

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[289] It is custom in Japan to offer three sticks when burning incense, but this does not have to be followed; some people offer one single stick, while others offer a whole bundle of, say, 100.

(2009: 30).

Plate 30: Pilgrims, led by the *sendatsu* (left, front), reciting *sūtra*s in front of the *daishi-dō* of temple #1, Ryōzen-ji. Bundles of three incense sticks (as the pilgrim had explained to me, above) can be seen. Photograph taken on 5 May 2006

Rōsoku

蝋燭. These are small, white candles. A male pilgrim at temple #6 explained to me that he never thought about the meaning of candles and incense in particular, as since childhood these are always used at the Buddhist graveyards and their use is simply a habit of the Japanese people; however, his mother taught him that candles and incense delight the Buddhas and that they will protect the person who offers these to them. A female pilgrim there stated that for her, candles have the following meaning: candles light up the darkness, and she feels that they have a special power and that offering these at the pilgrimage temples is an important religious act. Kihara Rie states that she learned (from her family who are native of Shikoku) that through lighting candles we can get ‘Buddha’s virtue’ (2009: 30).

Sūtra[290] and *mantra*-book

経本. *Sūtra* and *mantra*-books[291, 292, 293] are used to join in with the group recitation. A female pilgrim explained to me at temple #6 that she was proud to remember the *Hannya Shingyō Sūtra* (Shorter Heart *Sūtra*) by heart due to the frequent use during the pilgrimage, and that she is now looking forward to study to find out its meaning once she had got home. Regarding foreign pilgrims, Kihara observed that one-third do not chant, whereas one-third chanted it in Japanese, with the other one-third chanting it in its English, Chinese or French translation (2009: 30f.).

Osame-fuda

納札. These are name slips; the pilgrim traditionally writes his/her name, address, date and wish on it and places it into the *osame-fuda*-box at both the *hon-dō* and the

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[290] They are written in the Japanese reading/pronunciation (*kanji* and *hiragana*) of the original Chinese *kanji*-syllables.

[291] They are written in Japanese *hiragana* as a transliteration of the pronunciation of the original Sanskrit.

[292] Kūkai explaines this in his the *Meaning of Sound, word and Reality (Shōji jssō gi)*, answer to question 1: *mantras* are “capable of denoting the Reality of all dharmas without Error or Falsehood; thus they are called true words.” (quoted in Hakeda, 1972: 241).

[293] For an in-depth analysis of this, please see Abé, throughout, but in particular Part III, pp 275ff., especially pp 278-281, *Of Voice, Letter and Reality*. Put briefly, Kūkai taught that syllables and sound all manifest the ultimate Buddhist truth. Abé explains: “… before syllables are put together to form a word, they are already the sources of countless meanings … It is thought that their semantic superabundance… [had the power to] protect chanters, or to bring about supernatural effects” (1999: 6). Such is the case at the Shikoku pilgrimage, where chanters believe that the supernatural ‘powers’ of the deities enshrined as *honzon* are transferred to the pilgrim by virtue of offering a candle, incense and reciting the corresponding *mantra*.

daishi-dō. It is also handed out to the person from whom one receives *o-settai*; it is believed to bring good luck to the receiving person and/or warding off evil from that household. The colour indicates the number of times one has done the pilgrimage[294]. *Osame-fuda* came into use in the 14th century, and originally made out of wood, they were stuck or nailed onto the temple walls and ceilings. Made out of paper now, they are still sometimes glued to temple walls, but temples dislike and discourage this behaviour.

Temples collect these *osame-fuda* and burn them, as it is believed in the Shingon tradition, that, similar to the *goma*-ceremony, by burning these by fire the wishes are transmitted to the deities (and thus will be fulfilled). Reader explains (although he talks about *ema*-plates with wishes inscribed at Shinto Shrines, but much the same applies here):

> This fulfils a dual function founded in a typical Japanese religious union of the symbolic and the pragmatic: by ritually burning them the wishes of the writers are symbolically liberated and sent up to the kami and buddhas …, while at the same time the racks upon which they are hung can be cleared to make space for fresh ones to be put up. (1991b: 35)

Itawaki Yuka, the sister of the head priest of temple #55, Nankō-bō, told me[295] that the *osame-fuda* are collected and kept at a safe place, stored and locked away, and only the head priest can access it with a key. There, they get collected, and, as they must never be just thrown away, once a year, in June, ten temples (#54~#65) say "good-bye" to them in a ceremony. This is a long-standing tradition of these ten temples, and the *osame-fuda* were used to be "given to the sea", but now, because of environmental regulations, this cannot be done anymore, so they burn them together, in a ceremony, just like the other pilgrimage temples do.

Something similar was told to me by Rev. Kinoshita of temple #1, Ryōzen-ji, when I

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[294] It is unknown when the tradition to use colour started, and I am engaged in research into this area. As for the colours, white: 1-4 times, green: 5-6 times, red: 7-24 times, silver: 25-49 times, gold: 50-99 times, *kinran* (brocade): 100 or more times. Gold as well as brocade *osame-fuda* can only be purchased with a letter by by one of the 88 temples certifying that they confirm that this amount of pilgrimages; this letter will then be forwarded to the Reijōkai which then makes these *osame-fuda* available to the pilgrim.

[295] In an interview, held in English, that we had there on 31 October 2010. It was originally planned that the head priest, Rev. Itawaki Shunkyō, would join us, too, but he had been held up with unforeseeable matters, so he said on the phone that she would speak in his name.

asked her about how her temple handles the disposal of *osame-fuda*[296]: These are collected in a separate, locked room, which can only be accessed by the head priest or deputy head priest, and once a week (as they get so many) they will be burnt in a special ceremony, together with other items that have been given to the temple, such as home-altars, kimonos, etc. For this, they need to have permission of the local fire department, who will also oversee this, so they can only conduct this at the specified dates.

Plate 31: *Osame-fuda* by pilgrims glued onto the wall after having received *o-settai* here: The inside of a former bus-stop that had been converted to a shelter for pilgrims (see also plate 59 on page 266). When I visited there on 29 October 2010, I found a bicycle pilgrim occupying this. He told me that he was residing here for "a couple of days", having a break from the pilgrimage, and would continue to travel around Shikoku perpetually as long as he could.

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[296] When I visited her there on 23 May 2011.

Nōkyō-chō

納経帳. This is a book, in which the stamps/seals and calligraphies of all temples are collected, with one page for each temple, which always depicts Kōbō Daishi on its first page.

Tanaka explains:

> The *nōkyō-sho* (place where temple stamp is given), usually located at the kuri (priest's residence), pilgrims receive the *hōin* or temple seal given originally in exchange for handwritten *okyō* [I have seen this custom still practised nowadays, with some pilgrims putting a handwritten copy of the *Hannya Shingyō Sūtra*, together with the *osame-fuda* into the *osame-fuda*-boxes] but now primarily to signify that the pilgrim has visited the temple. These stamps are usually received in a *nōkyō-chō*, though some pilgrims will - mostly additionally - submit a scroll to be stamped and some white pilgrim costume in which they will eventually be cremated. (1999b: 128).

(This aspect will be looked at the 'death'-part, such as on page 252).

Tanaka further explains:

> …the stamp consists of seven elements: the word hōnō meaning "dedication" so as [indicating that] the pilgrim has completed the worshipping [at this temple], the name of the honzon (chief deity) [in Japanese], the name of the honzon in Sanskrit, and the temple name all written [in black *sumi*-ink] with a brush [at my first pilgrimage, in October 1993, temple #4, Dainichi-ji, had used a, *hangi no nōkyō-in*[297], *wooden nōkyō stamp*, for this, but this is no longer practised], and the number of the temple, the name of the honzon in Sanskrit[298], and the temple name all applied by a [red] stamp (132).

A question that arises here is how these *nōkyō-sho* officials are chosen, who stamp and inscribe these important items? For example, do they need to be particularly trained in calligraphy, or especially knowledgeable in the history of that particular temple or the pilgrimage? When I interviewed Ms Itawaki of temple #55, Nankō-bō, in this regard[299], she explained to me that these are generally close neighbours, who

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[297] 版木の納経印.

[298] So it is, in fact, given twice in the *nōkyō-chō*: once through the stamp, and once as a handwritten calligraphy.

[299] On 31 October 2010.

Plate 32: Ms Itawaki Yuka inside the *nōkyō-sho*-office, affixing the seals and calligraphy of their temple #55, Nankō-bō, into my *nōkyō-chō*. The fee for this (¥300[300]) can be seen on the table. In the middle of the page, the name of the chief deity has just been written, and the name of the temple is being added on its left side. Photograph taken on 8 December 2009

are known to the temple's head priest and the *danka*[301]; also the officers should know each other well so as to ensure a smooth workflow. She also pointed out that this is not a volunteer activity, but that all *nōkyō-sho* officers are *paid workers* (usually on a part-time basis). Furthermore, generally a good handwriting is of advantage to be chosen for this job, although in her temple's case, a certain officer (name withheld here), had a rather bad handwriting, but was still chosen by the then-head priest (Ms Itawaki's father) for his good and very friendly character; he was the kind of person

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[300] For each temple (around £2.50 as of June 2011).

[301] 檀家, temple parishioners.

who would make visiting pilgrims "happy"[302], and, as he had just retired, and was in need for some extra income, and lived close-by, her father thought of supporting him accordingly. Also, she explained, sometimes, such as at temple #58, Senyū-ji, the wife of the deputy head priest, Ms Oyamada Miki, also works at the *nōkyō-sho*; or, such as at #50, Hanta-ji, the head priest, his son (deputy head priest), and his son's wife, plus some employed neighbours, all work together.

Originally, the *nōkyō-chō* served as a proof that one had visited the temple, akin to a 'passport' book; Natalie Kouamé explained this, when she analysed the local authorities of Shikoku and the *henro* between 1800-50, and cites a decree of Tosa (Kōchi Prefecture) from 1833:

> Regarding the inspection [at the frontier of Tosa domain] of the henro [pilgrim] who come from other provinces. They must bring the ōrai tegata [letter of recommendation] issued by their province as well as their Nōkyō-chō…Thus, pilgrims who could provide proof of pious motives - the ōrai tegata and the stamped nōkyō-chō attested to this - were admitted without problems to the domain (Kouamé, 1997: 421).

Thus, a 'passport' book, became one of the special memorabilia of the pilgrimage, with its collection of temple seals and calligraphies. The Tosa-city government writes that the *nōkyō-chō* were a family treasure (Tosa-city government, 1973: 1264). The Ozaki grandfather from Kōchi kept his wife's *nōkyō-chō* (she was a *sendatsu*)[303], which shows that it has a special memory meaning for him, and his son explained to me that he had handcrafted a *nōkyō-chō* when he was 18 in 1975 (and went that year on his first pilgrimage with his parents), as he had worked at a printing company and so he cut the paper and sewed them up together, and he gave it to his dad and mom as a very special present. He also informed me (and his wife, who had never done the pilgrimage) that one should use a book repeatedly, as it is transmitted custom:

> SON：You use a book repeatedly, like this, you don't finish a book after one time.
> DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：Really?
> SON：It's better to use it repeatedly…That's what they say[304].

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[302] I have met him several times there and can confirm his very friendly character.

[303] The family has collected, in total, nine *nōkyō-chō*.

[304] SON：これはね、帳面はだいたいこう何回もかがめていくが、ほら、１回でやるんじゃ終わるんじゃなしに、何回も。
DAUGHTER-IN-LAW：ああそう。

Plate 33: A *nōkyō-chō* that is completely covered in red ink of the temple seals because this pilgrim had done it over 100 times. Because of the thick ink, the pages stick together; photograph taken at *nōkyō-sho* of temple #17, Ido-ji, on 8 April 2008

A Japanese pilgrim in her 30s told me at the *nōkyō-sho* of temple #88, Ōkubo-ji[305], that she originally bought it because everybody is doing it, and that the seal of the first temple had already been affixed and was included in the price, so it seemed a good deal (she had bought her equipment and utensils at temple #1 at the beginning of her pilgrimage). At first she didn't think much about it, but then she wanted to collect all. Progressing through the pilgrimage, she found that she was often concerned whether she might have incidentally left out one temple, so she would check in her *nōkyō-chō* to see if all was alright, and also it motivated her to keep on progressing on the pilgrimage, especially in the second half, after so many pages have beautifully filled up with stamps and calligraphies. When we talked, she had just completed her pilgrimage, which she had done in one piece, clock-wise, mostly walking, but also taking public transportation whenever she was exhausted, or asking for a lift when the temple seemed too hard to ascend to. It had taken her around nine weeks in all, and she then felt at temple #88, that the *nōkyō-chō* has become a

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SON：重ねていくほうがええ。。。ええらしいですわ。

[305] On 12 December 2009.

special[306] book, and she felt something very extraordinary whenever she holds it or looks through it; it includes many memories of hardship, but also of many happy moments. She now, even more than before, respects those repeating pilgrims whom she would meet on several occasions at the *nōkyō-sho*, who have their *nōkyō-chō* stamped again and again, and where the pages have thus become all red: seeing them and their books makes her tears roll down. Kihara observed that nearly 90% of the 34 western pilgrims received the stamps in the *nōkyō-chō*, although she writes: "a few of them quit getting them in the middle of their journeys" (2009: 30), which, I assume, is probably because of the high cost that is charged for this, as well as not being so culturally attuned to their value.

As for the Ozaki family, the son usually didn't read *sūtra*s or engage in other ritual behaviour: his role was, so he told me, to receive the seals in the *nōkyō-chō*. He went to the *nōkyō-sho* while his parents were praying, then, upon receipt, he would tell them "we're done, let's go", and later added, though, that sometimes, when that was quick he would also pray; if he finished first, he would go to his mother and ask "are you done? Okay, then let's go", then they would leave for the next place. The reason for this, he explained, was that it could be very crowded at the *nōkyō-sho* at times, so one would have needed to wait for a long time.

In this regard, sometimes, at times of peaks of numbers of pilgrims, bus drivers and tour conductors would stamp *nōkyō-chō* of their particular groups, with only the calligraphy applied by the *nōkyō-sho* official. When I asked in surprise at temple #1[307], they replied that this is done in order to save valuable time for the group, as it would take too long if the (usually one or two) temple officers would do everything by themselves; group tours have no spare time. The clerk working at the *nōkyō-sho* is officially authorized by the priest to conduct these services, whereas bus drivers or tour guides are not. As the groups are out in the temple compound, engaged in chanting and other activities, they would not notice (members of the groups *never* enter the *nōkyō-sho*; they follow their leader (often *sendatsu*) straight out of the bus into the temple compound, whereas the tour guide and/or bus driver carry their *nōkyō-chō*, *kakejiku* and *hakue* in large bags to the *nōkyō-sho*-office and only give

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[306] This talk was not recorded, and it is given here from memory; 特別, *tokubetsu,* was the word she repeatedly used to label her *nōkyo chō* and her experiences.

[307] On 15 October 2007.

these back at the completion of the tour. That is why it is important that every item is clearly marked by the pilgrim with his/her name and address so as to clearly identify their item afterwards). It seems strange that they would engage in such activities, but it has been experienced by me first-hand at numerous temples, over the years, throughout the pilgrimage, such as this:

Plate 34: In order to save time, tour-conductors (and not *nōkyō-sho*-officials) are stamping the *nōkyō-chō* of their pilgrimage group; photograph taken at temple #1, Ryōzen-ji, on 15 October 2007

Temples accept and approve of this behaviour, not officially but *de-facto*, as it is needed to ensure a smooth daily operation, and efficient handling of the large amount of books from the bus-tours; however, as temple officials from various temples told me on various occasions, they would prefer the groups to allocate more time on this so that they could do everything by themselves, as the problem is that untrained or unconcentrated tour guides occasionally put the stamps on wrong pages (each temple has a particular page and space allocated in the predetermined order from 1-88); this would, they assured me, unlikely be noticed by the individual pilgrim, but it will be detected by the other temple, whose place this page would have been, and they would think that this *nōkyō-sho* official would have done this mistake. These items are never sent to be stamped/written on ahead, then collected when the pilgrims arrive, because it is generally held that the *nōkyō-chō* and the pilgrims have to visit the temple during the same time so as to gain the merit of the visit[308].

The important connection of *nōkyō-chō* and death will be taken up below.

Kakejiku

Plate 35: Calligraphy written onto my *kakejiku* by Mr Suzaki Tadao, officer of the *nōkyō-sho* of temple #1, Ryōzen-ji; photograph taken on 20 October 2007

掛け軸. These are hanging scrolls. The *kakejiku* is a scroll in which the pilgrim collects the calligraphies and seals of the 88 temples[309]. Sato explains that he had been told by Ōmoto Ryūshō, the then-head priest of temple #56, Taisan-ji, that its production had started in 1937, but only very few pilgrims had shown an interest (2004: 223). Naturally, it did not serve as a 'passport-travel-document' and in the

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[308] This would run counter to the completed *kakejiku* sold underhand as explained below; and I also have met several unemployed, who carry stacks of *nōkyō-chō* and *kakejiku* to the temple office to be stamped, so as to sell them later. This is also not well-received at the temples and the Reijōkai.

[309] ¥400 for each temple (around £3 as of June 2011).

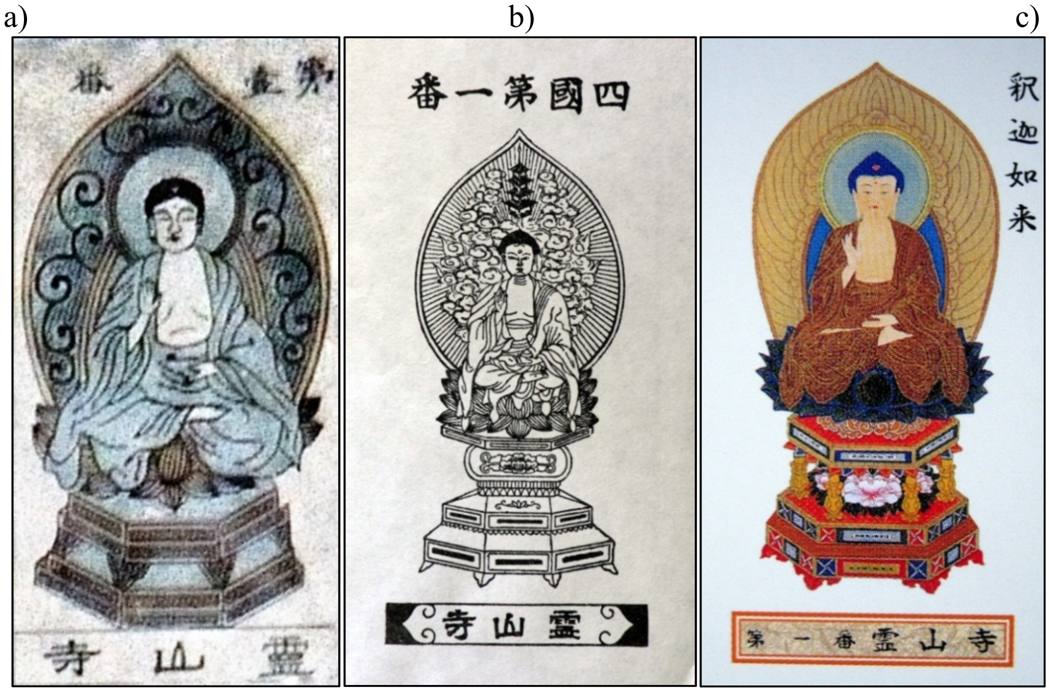
beginning, one of the reasons that it had not been popular (besides the overall economic situation if Japan) was that the quality had been poor and the print in its centre of Kōbō Daishi looked like a 'manga'-painting. A printing company in Imbari city (Ehime Prefecture) had the idea to print the famous painting of Kōbō Daishi on the chair of patriarchs, which had been the only painting of Kōbō Daishi during his life-time, as mentioned in this thesis, and suggested to Iyo-Tetsu to produce such *kakejiku*, and these were sold from 1976 onwards (Gekkan Henro Henshū-bu, 2003: 83), and these usually depict Kōbō Daishi in its centre, or have written *Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō* instead there.

When I observed pilgrims at the *nōkyō-sho* at temples #38, #58 and #75 in April 2009, I found that all pilgrims had a *nōkyō-chō*, and about a quarter of them also had a *kakejiku*. When I asked those pilgrims why they also had *kakejiku* (during the time that was required for drying these at the *nōkyō-sho*), they would answer me that (a) it is nice memorabilia of the pilgrimage and (b) that they might never do the pilgrimage again, so it would be best to collect all that there is to collect, (c) to pass it on to their grandchildren, as it "lasts forever". Mr Motoki Kazunori, owner in the 12th generation of the Chikurin-dō company in Naruto-city with a branch on Mount Kōya, gave me on 21 March 2007, when I talked with him at his shop in this regard, one more important item of information: I asked him what would happen if someone could not do the pilgrimage by him/herself, maybe due to health or age issues. He answered me that his shop could provide and sell me a completed *kakejiku* for ¥330,000 (nearly £2,500 as of June 1011). Although this is not advertised (apparently it is not regarded as a 'valid' way of doing the pilgrimage and disapproved by the Reijōkai (Reader, 2005: 23), it is still possible to purchase a completed scroll, albeit that this is seen as a rather underhand thing to do. I read this shopkeeper as both a person who genuinely sees the *kakejiku* as a religiously significant item, and offers a service to help non-pilgrims acquire one, as well as a person with a living to make, and who therefore emphasizes the value of his goods.

The Ozaki grandfather confirmed to me that they sold *kakejiku* before, so they are not such a recent product, but, he added, those people purchasing these were of high class, because they were expensive – his family had collected some. He then wanted to show the *kakejiku* to me. His son added that they had started collecting the *kakejiku* after they had done a round or two: people first collect the *nōkyō-chō* and then move on to collecting the *kakejiku.* His father said that it is alright that these items are expensive, because, for him, *kakejiku* and the framed *miei* (see below) "are precious things that make you feel the Buddha-spirit is with you"[310]. His framed *osugata*-slips in the *miei*-book will be further looked at below.

Considering how these scrolls are popular now, this is perhaps also because these may moreover be seen as works of art or because modern pilgrims who are well-off want more expensive souvenirs.

Miei-chō



Plates 36 a, b, c: The *osugata* (*miei*)-slips of temple #1, Ryōzen-ji. (a) dates from pre-World War II (it bears an obsolete formal numeral for '1'); as it is printed in colour, which is more expensive than black-and-white, so it can be assumed that it was regarded as a highly valued document, (b) is the one commonly used now, and (c) can be additionally purchased since December 2006[311]. All are of the same size, and

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[310] やっぱりね、掛け軸にからあの額になってきたらね、やっぱり、あ、仏さんの御心と、というのが宝になってるような気がするんですよ。– Regarding "仏さんの御心", *hotoke-san no go-kokoro*, "仏さん" *hotoke-san* is, for Japanese, not only limited to the Buddha, but could be the Buddhas; so, it can be translated either as 'spirit of the Buddhas', or, maybe best, 'Buddha-spirit'.

[311] Traditionally printed in black-and-white, the temples started on 21 December 2006 to sell *osugata*-slips printed in full-colour, which are not free like the black-and-white ones, but each cost, as of 2011, ¥200 (around £1.50 as of July 2011). In January 2010, I had received a letter

have the number and name of the temple inscribed, and (c) also shows the name of the temple's *honzon* (Shaka *Nyorai*). As so often throughout the pilgrimage, this *honzon* is not shown to the public (such a *honzon* is called *hibutsu*, literally *secret Buddha*[312]), and so this paper slip is the only 'form' in which pilgrims can 'see' their revered deity. (a) was shown to me and photographed at Chikurin-dō-do company, Naruto-city, on 21 March 2007, and (b) and (c) are of my own collection. The issue of *hibutsu* will be taken up in chapter 4.

御影帳. This is book for *osugata* (*miei*)-slips. Normally called *miei*, these slips are also often called *osugata* on Shikoku Island. In addition to the booklet and hanging scroll inscriptions (see above), the pilgrim also receives as a memorial a slip of paper, sized 12 cm x 6.5 cm, with an illustration of the chief deity (*honzon*) of the relevant temple printed on it. The tradition of giving small slips of paper with the *honzon* and the name of the temple printed on them started as early as 1915. Ms Ozaki's son, so as to collect them, had glued these into a self-made booklet himself after his first pilgrimage with his parents in 1975; Iyo Tetsu[313] was the first to have the idea to produce a book to insert the *osugata*-slips in 1979 (Gekkan Henro Henshū-bu, 2003: 84). The *osugata* slips, too, can be mounted onto a silk hanging scroll upon completion of the pilgrimage, just like the *kakejiku* with its seals. In some parts of Shikoku, as I had learned from Mr Motoki Hiroshi, head of Chikurin-dō company[314], it is tradition to frame the *osugata* slips so that they can be hung up over the entrance of a house so that it and its inhabitants are 'protected', and sometimes, pilgrims mount both, the *kakejiku* and the *osugata* slips, onto one big screen, around 140cm by 120cm in size, because, as Japanese traditionally sleep on *futons* on the ground, they believe that this screen, put up at the head side of the *futon*, protects by the deities depicted on it for a good sleep, or, in case of death, that the deities quickly assemble to guide the deceased. The Ozaki grandfather explained to me that *kakejiku* are nice, but framing these *osugata* has something special about it, as, because they are hung up in a frame, he can see them all the time (unlike the *kakejiku*) especially when he does his ancestor memorial rites each morning, because "man can't live without he mercy of *kami* and Buddha".[315]

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from the Reijōkai, asking me, as a *sendatsu*, to motivate pilgrims to purchase these coloured *osugata*-slips.

[312] Please refer to appendix D, which lists the 66 temples that have a *hibutsu*.

[313] 伊予鉄, a pilgrimage-tour company in Matsuyama.

[314] On April 26, 2009, when I visited there.

[315] やっぱりあの神仏やっぱりすがらな人間は生きていけんです。

The costs of doing the pilgrimage

If one calculates the cost of the more common of the above items (*hakue* ~¥2,415, *wagesa* ~¥630, *kongō-tsue* ~¥1,575, *nōkyō-chō* ~¥2,100, 88 seals ¥26,400[316], *rōsoku* ~¥750, *o-senkō* ~¥360, *sūtra*/*mantra*-book ~¥315, *osame-fuda* ~¥200) as of 2011, the total, without *kakejiku* and its seals and without and *miei-chō*, is around ¥35,000, (nearly £270, as of June 2011) .

To this, the cost of travel and accommodation needs to be added. The married couple from Hokkaidō, whom I talked to at temple #38 [317], stated that they spend ¥240,000~¥250,000 (around £1,800 as of June 2011) per person for these each time they visit Shikoku. They added that they couldn't sleep outside in a sleeping bag, so they would stay at *minshuku* or *shukubō*. They told me that they don't mind these high costs. Man 2 said that he would choose the same accommodation for the same reason, and that he was willing to spend for the whole pilgrimage (for travel, accommodation and the pilgrimage items) ¥1,000,000 (around £7,500 as of June 2011), which is the same amount as one would spend on a trip around the world with the 'Peace Boat'. At the *shukubō* of temple #75, man 1 told us that he sometimes stayed at business hotels, and he preferred to make reservations in advance at hotels, based on his experience of how far he can walk.

This is quite a lot of money to do a pilgrimage that probably originated as a practice done by mountain ascetics. Temples charging for their activities might at first seem odd, but this is how things operate in Japan, and of course the payment of the pilgrims for these services can be seen as *o-settai*, albeit required and of a fixed amount, given to the temple. Would spending so much money mean that one can convert 'cash value' to karmic benefit? Or how do contemporary pilgrims understand this?

The daughter-in-law of the Ozaki grandfather said that the *handai*[318] is expensive, but it is for the people who work at the *nōkyō-sho*, and also for the maintenance of the temples. And the Ozaki grandfather told me, referring to the high costs involved

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[316] Pilgrims visiting Mount Kōya as their final step might additionally receive one or two further stamps and seals there, at both the Okunoin and the Kongōbu-ji head temple.

[317] On 29 October 2010.

[318] The fee for the seals.

in the pilgrimage items, that these are special because they make one feel like the Buddha-spirit is with the owner, and, referring to the overall expenses for the pilgrimage, that "after all, Kōbō Daishi has one thousand and some hundred years of history and we must pray to that"[319] [respect that and honour that]; and regarding the costs for repeaters: the more seals you get, the more you visit the temples, the more blessings you get…"Visiting ten times is better than visiting only once, because it shows more devotion and piety"[320] (see also page 214). These important aspects will be taken up again in the 'Shikoku pilgrimage and death' section.

Pilgrims' views of the significance of ways of doing the pilgrimage

Although #1 Ryōzen-ji is generally regarded as the starting point (and therefore its number is given as such #1), this is not a binding rule, but just a convenient convention; pilgrims can theoretically start at any temple (Reader, 2005: 16), as long as all sites are visited (although they might be visited at different times and not necessarily in the common order). This was a problem when Koll found out that he had missed out visiting temple #7, Jūraku-ji (2008: min 18:50), and had to walk back to this temple, before he could call his pilgrimage "completed". For example, Ms Takamure, in 1918, came from Ōita-Prefecture, then took a ship from Ōita to Yawatahama on Shikoku Island (Takamure, 1979: 244), and then began walking the pilgrimage at temple #43, Meiseki-ji, which was south of Yawatahama (243) (still a port nowadays) and completed the pilgrimage in an anti-clockwise full circuit. Statler explains: "Pilgrims may begin at any point, but in order to complete the pilgrimage must return to their starting point, must complete the circuit" (Statler and Ueda, 1983: minute 1), which suggest that it is seen as a circuit by pilgrims.

The Shikoku pilgrimage can be done either *tōshi-uchi* (the entire pilgrimage in one time), or *kugiri-uchi* (in parts). Pilgrims may commence at the temple nearest to their starting place, for example nearest to their hometown, or nearest their port of entry, such as Ms Takamure in 1918. Kihara Rie, then aged 22 and living with her family

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[319] やっぱり弘法大師さん、一千何百年の歴史があるわけですけえね、その歴史にやっぱりお、拝んで。

[320] ね、１回より１０回行ったほうがやっぱり、信心深うて神々しさ感じる、ますわね。

near temple #40, Kanjizai-ji, started from #41, Ryūkō-ji, and finished at temple #40, where her family members and relatives would wait to congratulate her; she did – all together with a similar-aged female friend – Kōchi, Tokushima, Kagawa by bus and taxi during summer, and Ehime as walkers in November 2008, including, as the final destination in order to have the pilgrimage 'completed', Mount Kōya and the Okunoin[321]. Pilgrims from the mainland would now usually start at temple #1, Ryōzen-ji, which is nearest to the Muya-port of entry when coming from Ōsaka and Wakayama-Prefecture by boat, car or plane, or at #29, Kokubun-ji when arriving at Kōchi airport, or at #49, Jōdo-ji, when arriving at Matsuyama airport, or #83, Ichinomiya-ji, when arriving at Takamatsu airport. I lived in Muya between 1992 and 1999, and met many pilgrims who made #1 their start of the pilgrimage[322]. Nowadays, there are on Shikoku several main ferry ports, such as Naruto (Muya), Tadotsu, Imabari, Yawatahama, Matsuyama, Takamatsu), and three modern bridges now connect three of all the four prefectures of Shikoku, except for Kōchi Prefecture, with the mainland: Naruto Ōhashi (Naruto city, Tokushima Prefecture, construction completed 1999; the pilgrim would then start at temple #1), Seto Ōhashi (Sakaide city, Kagawa Prefecture, completed 1988, the pilgrimage would preferably start at temple #75), and Shimanami Kaidō (Imabari city, Ehime Prefecture, completed 1999, allowing the pilgrim to start at #55). As a contemporary example, the wife whom I had met at the *shukubō* of temple #38[323] told me that she had previously stayed with someone who was from near temple #43, and who had been walking the pilgrimage once every year for more than ten years; he therefore would always start it at temple #44[324]. In other words, the Shikoku Pilgrimage may be commenced at any place and conducted in any order, as suits the needs of the pilgrim best.

It is useful here to briefly refer to one aspect of this pilgrimage, which is that the whole island of Shikoku is now commonly, such as in pilgrimage maps, magazines

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[321] She told me when we met in Matsyuama on 23 May 2009.

[322] Muya produced salt and Aizome for indigo-dying, and so there was frequent trading with the mainland, in particular the Kansai area (including Ōsaka with its huge port). This was a major source of income, particularly in the Edo period (Tokushima Aizome Research Publication, 2009: URL). Thus there was frequent exchange of ships, which the pilgrims could use for their own transportation in those days.

[323] On 29 October 2010.

[324] 。。。毎年四国をね、回ってるんですって。それがね、四十三番のね、お寺の近くの人なの。。。で、その四十四番から必ずこう歩くんですって。

and guidebooks[325], divided into four *dōjō*[326], corresponding to four ordered phases of spiritual development of the pilgrim. The first prefecture, if the pilgrimage is done clockwise, starting at temple #1, Tokushima is labelled as *hosshin no dōjō*: *the dōjō of (awakening and strengthening) the resolution to attain ultimate enlightenment*; the second prefecture, Kōchi, is *shugyō no dōjō*: the *dōjō of religious discipline*; the third prefecture, Ehime, is *bodai no dōjō*: *the dōjō of enlightenment* (which, as I understand it, might still need to be deepened); the fourth prefecture, Kagawa, is *nehan no dōjō*: the *dōjō of (entering into) nehan (nirvāṇa)*, complete and absolute unity with Dainichi *Nyorai*[327].

It could be argued that some pilgrims do the pilgrimage anti-clockwise, or in parts, and sometimes not in the order at all; this would count against the concept of four *dōjō* of spiritual development. This is a relevant point as they move back and forth between prefectures, and also between temples in each prefecture. How do contemporary pilgrims see it? I asked them, and received the following answers: A couple in their sixties, who walked the pilgrimage clockwise, in parts, told me[328] that they had experienced Kōchi as the *dōjō* of religious practice because it had taken them three tiring days for the nearly 77 km from temple #23 to #24 on Cape Muroto, during which it had always rained, so it had tested their determination and will-power, not to give up, or to take the bus or train. A woman[329]explained to me that she

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[325] Reader explains that no evidence of the idea of 4 *dōjō* in pre-war times could be found, for example, diaries and pilgrims' journals do not mention it; however, it had become normative in post-war pilgrimage books (2005: 53). I would like to list here the guidebook by Nishimura Kasuichi (ed.) *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho shōsai chizu chō*, first edition in 1956, and he informed me by telephone on 10 April, 2009 that the Shikoku Reijōkai had approved its *dōjō*-contents; Nishibata Sakae's *henro* diary (1964: 47f); Kobayashi Atsuhiro's *Teinen kara dōgyōninin* (Two Walking Together After Retirement) (he had walked in 1988, finished writing the book in February 1990 (4), and it was published in 1994); Miyata Taisen's *A Henro Pilgrimage Guide to the 88 Temples of Shikoku Island, Japan* (1996); the NHK television documentaries in 2006 S*hikou hachijūhakkasho. Kokoro o tabi suru* ('Shikoku 88-temple pilgrimage. To let the spirit go on a trip') and *Shikoku henro ni itteki-mashu* ('I am going on the Shikoku-pilgrimage') in 2008 with the famous table-tennis player Ms Yotsumoto Naomi. Many temple pamphlets (such as #10) and Reijōkai-publications mention this four-*dōjō*-classification. It is also mentioned in magazines, such as the popular *otoko no kakureya* (Hiding places for men), Global Planet: June 2011 edition.

[326] A place of learning and practicing the way.

[327] This might allude to the idea of *apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa,* carrying on in the round of rebirths, knowing it is no different from *saṃsāra*, and without attachment to either, though the ideas of gaining unity with Dainichi *Nyorai* (Mahāvairocana *Tathāgata*) may be different from this Indian Mahāyāna idea.

[328] On 22 April 2009 at the *shukubō* of temple #38.

[329] In a letter to me dated 8 May 2009.

didn't like this kind of classification and that it had no meaning; a man[330] wrote that he liked the separation into four *dōjō* and that the pilgrimage should start in Tokushima, the *dōjō* of awakening faith, but then, thinking about it, one may start at any temple, even at the Kagawa, the *nehan dōjō*, so it didn't make sense for him, however, he wrote that he felt that Kōchi is the *dōjō* of religious discipline, as it has a very exhausting pilgrimage path, for walking or bicycling, and even driving is tiresome. Another woman wrote[331] that for her the classification does have a personal meaning: One and a half years ago, she had become ill; she had been fond of mountain climbing but the doctor had forbidden her to continue with this, so now she was walking the pilgrimage, which was less exhausting, and for her, Tokushima is the *dōjō* not to awaken religious faith but it symbolized for her a fresh, new start; it is also important to note that she believed that Kōbō Daishi had called her to do the pilgrimage.

Some pilgrims whom I talked to at the *shukubō* of temple #6, Anraku-ji[332], told me the following: A woman in her 40s, was doing the pilgrimage clockwise (*jun-uchi*), walking but also hitchhiking at times, starting at temple #69 last year, and doing it every year in *kugiri-uchi* (cut into parts) in irregular order, so she assumed that it would take her another three years or so to complete it. A couple from Nagoya, just retired, started the pilgrimage again on 20 April 2009, doing it in parts, clockwise, walking, and found the Kōchi-Prefecture particularly hard because of the long distance between #23 and #24 (around 80 km walking distance), for which they had required two days. A couple in their 70s from Hokkaidō was walking the pilgrimage, in parts, clockwise. A privately formed group of ten pilgrims from Hokkaidō started at #88 last year, was doing it anti-clock-wise (*gyaku-uchi*), and in parts, and they used a micro-bus for this. A woman from Aichi Prefecture was doing the pilgrimage in parts, clockwise, mostly by foldable bicycle (thus being able to carry it as luggage on the plane to Shikoku). She was doing the pilgrimage for the first time, and walked it partly with a male walking pilgrim, after they met on the way. A man from Saitama Prefecture, 40 years old, was doing the pilgrimage for the third time. The first time, he did it by bicycle, but then was told that this is the "easy way", easier than walking, so he decided to do it again, walking, and now he was doing it again for the third

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[330] In an e-mail to me dated 11 May 2009.
[331] In an e-mail to me dated 16 May 2009.
[332] On 25 April 2009.

time, also walking, *tōshi-uchi* (doing it in one go). A German female pilgrim, 46 years old in 2010, was walking the pilgrimage for the first time, clockwise, in one go, starting at temple #1, doing it, more or less, in the order of 1-88. Because of the humid climate, her general physical condition and the weight of the luggage (10.5 kg incl. tent), she combined walking with public transportation, such as local buses and trains, and also shared a taxi with fellow walking pilgrims from time to time.

Of the group of pilgrims whom I talked to at temple #38's *shukubō*[333], the married couple from Hokkaidō were both retired, with the husband being 60 years old and his wife 63. It was his first, and her second time to do the pilgrimage, clockwise, which they walked, but they also used buses; before, she had done the pilgrimage with a friend, by taxi in one go, to prepare and see how it would be walking it with her husband later on, so now they do it in parts, and want to complete it in two years; they wanted to do it in spring-autumn in 2010, and spring-autumn in 2011. Now they had come as far as #38, and plan to do it the next year (i.e. 2011). They have come by plane to Shikoku (from Hakodate (Hokkaidō) via Haneda (Tokyo) to Kōchi). Man 2 in our group was 62 years old from Kansai, did it walking, clockwise, in parts, finishing at this temple (#38) in this batch of his pilgrimage. He said that he would need more than five years for this, as he could only do 100 km at one time because it was too exhausting. Man 3, 71 years old and from Kansai, too, was doing it by train and public buses first to see what the pilgrimage is like, and as he just had a school reunion in Ōita, he came to #38 from Beppu through Uwajima by ferry. He originally wanted to go around by bicycle, and had originally set himself a goal of three years to complete it, but hadn't even come close, so he was "rushing through the difficult ones"; he was doing it in parts in irregular order (as he lives relatively close by, so he visited off and on – when we met at temple #38, he was in his third year – and this time, he wanted to visit from #38 to some more temples moving backwards to Kōchi. However, as he was in fact doing it by train and public buses, he regarded himself not as a 'real pilgrim', which for him are walking pilgrims[334]. This view, though, does run counter to that of the Ozaki family, who were very devoted, having it done multiple times motorized, including the *bangai* and *bekkaku*, and the wife having been appointed as one of the early *sendatsu*, collecting books and scrolls, and even

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[333] On 29 October 2010.

[334] だから本当のお遍路さんじゃないんですよ。。。歩きの。

hand-making these.

However the pilgrimage is done, though, there is the idea that one should return to the beginning to 'complete' it. So those that use the four-*dōjō* idea, map these onto the four prefectures in a way that for an anti-clockwise walker who starts at #88, the first prefecture he walks though is thought of as the first *dōjō*. But for the majority of pilgrims, as I learned in my fieldwork, this idea seems to have little effect on their actual practice.

Satō found in his research (2004: 225) that 58.6% of the pilgrims were doing it for the first time, 20.6% for the second time, 7.9% for the third time, 7.5% for the fourth to ninth time, and 5.4% ten times or more. Mr Ozaki (aged 92), with whom I had conducted the life-pilgrimage interview[335], had done the pilgrimage somewhere around 7 to 11 times[336], and his son (now aged 54) had accompanied him on these between 7 and 9 times, the first time in 1975. Now, his father couldn't sit in a car anymore for a long time, so they had stopped doing the pilgrimage. The son had joined his father on the pilgrimage because the father had been going every Friday by bus and/or train, and so when the son had gotten his driver's license[337], he wanted to give him a ride, and he was free on Sundays, so he offered his father a ride if he could change his schedule to going on Sundays. They had always been doing the pilgrimage in parts (always as one-day-trips), because they had jobs and could only do it on their days off. The son told me that now there were highways in Shikoku, but when they used to go, there weren't any at all, so they had to take national roads, which took three times longer than using the highways; so they would leave at four or five in the morning and be back by eight in the evening; in another instance they would leave their home in Kōchi at two or three in the morning, so as to arrive at the temple #1 at eight and then go all the way to the last one for that day, temple #12, Shōsan-ji, then they would come back home from Tokushima Prefecture and decide when they would go the next time. The son added that for him it was a way to experience different sceneries, different seasons, different places in different prefectures, and it was also a good driving practice; he enjoyed it while also making

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[335] On 27 October 2010.

[336] He and his son had also visited the *bekkaku* and *bangai* temples together twice (in 1999 and 2000) by car.

[337] In the interview, he had mentioned often about when he had received his driver's license – this might indicate that it could have been a major event in his life.

his father happy, finding pleasure when his father really appreciated it.

At temple #75[338], man 1 was from Aichi and was retired, and was walking it, alone, in one go, and clockwise. It was his first Shikoku pilgrimage, and if he would do it again, he would do it by car, because it was so exhausting. He had been doing it now for 38 days, starting on 17 September 2010, and was now at #75 with 13 temples left to finish it. For 2010 and 2011, he said that he would be busy completing the 88-temple pilgrimage and then going onto a "journey to find my roots"[339]. Man 2, from Kantō, had just been retired five months ago, and he said that he consequently had a lot of time. He, too, walked the pilgrimage alone, clockwise, in one go. He liked to cut 45 minutes from his breakfast time, so as to start at six am. He remarked that the transportation from Tokyo to Shikoku costs a lot. For him as a walker, driving was not the same as walking, as he thought that religion is active and alive by people actually walking it, which is a certain aspect of the culture of Shikoku. He said that there is also the Saigoku pilgrimage, but people do it only once (which for him is the difference to Shikoku), it doesn't have repeaters; he did want to walk the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage next year (in 2011), as he felt that he was ready for it[340]. Later he added that driving the Shikoku pilgrimage is alright too, but that he would not do it. At that time, he was doing his seventh Shikoku pilgrimage circuit, all of which he had been walking[341]. For him, pilgrimage was walking without thinking anything, and he told us that first pilgrimage will be one's best memory-treasure. Man 3 was also from Kantō, doing it for the first time, walking. Woman 1 was from Kansai, and she was walking but also took the bus: she had come from Kyoto to Matsuyama and then took the bus north from Matsuyama, but tried to walk as much as possible. She was doing it in parts and was now doing the last half, from #44 to the end. The *sendatsu* (he himself from Kita-Kyūshū) with his group did it by car (micro-bus), but they were walking in and out of main gates to the compound (which the other two *sendatsu*, with whom I had in-depth interactions, also do; see also pages 286-291). They did it in parts, clockwise, and (apparently on this one day) they had been to temples #72 to #83, having left at 6:30 that morning; they would finish

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[338] On 24 October 2010.

[339] 今年から来年にかけて忙しいんですよ。今年はこう八十八ヶ所回って、来年は、あの、自分のルーツを探しに。

[340] His exact words were 「うん、うん、もうそろそろ行きたいなと思ってね」。

[341] He later told me this when we met in Tokyo on the 17 October 2010 and talked about it.

the pilgrimage the next day, by visiting temples #84 to #88, and then driving further on to Mount Kōya. He had taken this group to temples #1 to #43 during 1~18 September 2010, and this was their second half of the trip. He would add visits to historic sites related to Kōbō Daishi, for example places where he had undergone austere training, such as the *gumonji no hō*, Morning-Star meditation, near Tairyū-ji. For him, the way they did it, driving and walking in and out the main gate, is a modern day walking pilgrimage. However, he added that he had experienced walking the pilgrimage one and a half times before – so this might relate to a 'real' pilgrim being one who walks it, as man 3 at temple #38 told me: see previous paragraph.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that one of the features of this pilgrimage is that pilgrims are free to decide themselves what to wear and what to carry, and what ritual behaviour to engage in, even though there is a traditional menu of items for them to select from, or ignore. For example, candles and incense sticks are offered by most. Informants told me various understandings: that they never thought about the meaning of candles and incense, as these are simply a traditional custom habit of the Japanese; that candles and incense delight the Buddhas and that they will protect the person who offers these to them; candles light up the darkness, and that they have a special power and that offering these at the pilgrimage temples is an important spiritual act. The white clothing is symbolising 'death', and this is understood by most pilgrims, although not all wear it; one pilgrim told me that he wears it but that he simply follows the custom, but added later that the pilgrimage is a "sacred thing to do". The *kongō-tsue* is an important item and placed by a pilgrimage family in their alcove for art, which is a 'special' place in the Japanese house. Through this act they may also memorialise the owner of it – memorialising the dead is an important aspect of this pilgrimage, and will be looked in this thesis. *Osame-fuda*, name slips, are believed to bring good luck to the receiving person and/or warding off evil from that household. The Nishida-family gives such an important example, by having collected around 15,000 such slips. Their understanding will be analysed below. Examples of how pilgrims understand these items have been given in this chapter. The *osugata* (*miei*)-slips are also important, as they are the only form, in most instances, in which the pilgrim can see their revered chief deity in the temple. *Nōkyō-chō,* books for seals, are family treasures; informants told me about their understanding and use of this book, and in one instance, he kept his late wife's book, and this is also a form of memorialising the dead; furthermore, there is a tradition of burning them with the deceased, and all of these aspects will be looked at in the section 'Shikoku pilgrimage and death'. So, this chapter is very important as it introduces, and lays the foundation of, many important aspects that will be addressed later in the thesis. *Kakejiku,* hanging scroll, are valued much by pilgrims, but they are very expensive. Therefore, it was analysed how pilgrims understand this aspect. Informants also told that people first collect the *nōkyō-chō* and then move on to collecting the expensive *kakejiku*.

So, one question arises here, looking at the high costs involved, can one convert 'cash value' to karmic benefit? Or, in other words, what is their 'value' for pilgrims, and why? One informant was already quoted above, referring to the high costs involved in the pilgrimage items, that these are special because they make one feel like the Buddha-spirit is with the owner, and referring to the overall expenses for the pilgrimage that through this, one pays respect to this pilgrimage, and one shows dedication to the pilgrimage and to Kōbō Daishi. In this understanding, one *nōkyō-chō* is good, but having it stamped several times is better (these important aspects will also be taken up in the 'death' part again in this thesis). As I see it, to regard a *kakejiku* as precious, or even more precious than a *nōkyō-chō* because it is more expensive, shows that the first sets itself apart from the second because it shows more devotion – and for the pilgrims to define this, a 'monetary' scale is used. It is not that they value a *kakejiku* more because it is more expensive (although there may also be some pilgrims who do so, but I did not see my informants as such), but to define its 'level' of 'specialness' (in other words, 'sacredness'), money is used. As such, the higher the cost, the more it sets itself apart from 'cheaper' items – and thus the higher its 'specialness', and thus the more one shows devotion. And when pilgrims told me that they collect the *kakejiku* so as to pass it on to future generations, this would further increase their 'value', as it has now become a memorial of the deceased owners, for example parents or grandparents, (how a purchased *kakejiku* would be regarded by future family members would need to be seen though). Similarly, the *kongō-tsue* of the deceased wife of one informant might not have been expensive to receive (it was awarded to her when she had become a *sendatsu*, for which she had paid a fee), but it had a high 'value' for him, and was therefore placed in the most important part of his house, the *tokonoma*, because it reminded her him of her. In this case, it cannot be priced, but still ranked, as can the hand-made *nōkyō-chō* of one informant versus a commercially produced one. Now we can understand why a *nōkyō*-chō with seals of several pilgrimages is regarded as more 'special' than with seals of just one pilgrimage, as the informants told me, and why pilgrims treat very respectfully books with many seals on the pages as so very 'valuable'. The more seals are collected in one book, the more 'sacredness' is collected in it, and therefore the more its 'value' is perceived, as compared to a book with just one seal per page. Also, I do not mean 'value' in monetary terms, but in 'specialness', 'sacredness' – otherwise it would be difficult to understand the pilgrim, who showed me his book, which was completely soaked in red (see plate 34), and in which he *continued* to collect seals, in his own devotion, as seals had already become completely indistinguishable on the pages a long time ago.

In the context of the mode of travel of contemporary pilgrims (see also appendix C for in-depth data), I briefly looked at the idea, now commonly found in in pilgrimage maps, magazines and guidebooks, of the four *dōjō* classification: namely that the four prefectures that the pilgrimage passes through, when done clockwise starting at temple #1, correspond to four ordered phases of spiritual development of the pilgrim. This idea was found to have little influence on the pilgrims I spoke to. The largest change in the pilgrimage after the Second World War was the development and implementation of the first package bus-tour, as deputy head priest of temple #65, Sankaku-ji, explained to me: Iyo Tetsu's bus tours saved his – and other pilgrimage temples, too – financially poor temple. And the bus-tours do not follow this four-stage classification. Also, individually travelling pilgrims I met did not follow this order either, and data was gathered from informants how they feel about this, which was analysed in this chapter, and this idea seems to have little effect on their practice. In Shikoku, all sites need to be visited in order to complete the pilgrimage, although they might be visited at different times and not necessarily in the common order. In the concluding part of this chapter, one informant told me that she believed that Kōbō Daishi had called her to do the pilgrimage and that the first prefecture is like a new start, and a *sendatsu* explained that he would add visits off the 'regular' pilgrimage route to historic sites related to Kōbō Daishi, for example places where he had undergone austere training, such as the *gumonji no hō*, Morning-Star meditation.

As for whether walking pilgrims generally feel closer to Kōbō Daishi than those doing it through other modes, this could well be so, for three reasons:

a) when walking for a long time, say, forty-five days (cars take around eight days), this allows for *longer* immersion in nature and scenery (such as, say, feeling the sun's heat on the skin and smelling the fresh morning air, as opposed to sitting in a closed, air-conditioned vehicle); as this thesis had explained, such mingling with nature can be an important part of Japanese religious experience, and of a connection to something 'sacred' or 'ultimate', and of a relationship with a divine being, and nature (which is related to divine beings), if not to say Kōbō Daishi;
b) walkers will experience more hardship, compared to those doing it in other modes, and above many examples were given of pilgrims who relate these experiences to Kōbō Daishi (such as Kōbō Daishi 'causing' good weather, 'arranging' for a lift when walking had become painful, making the pilgrim physically and mentally strong, feeling 'connected' to Kōbō Daishi by experiencing similar hardship as he had, etc.);
c) because walkers spend more time on the pilgrimage, they will also have more opportunities to receive *o-settai* and, generally, to meet and interact with locals; many of the walkers that Kobayashi interviewed said this, stressing that they received alms and support so often and unexpectedly (2003: throughout), and one said that he was able to talk to around 200 people in eight days, whereas in Tokyo (where he lives) he hardly ever talks to anybody (199); another said that meeting people on the pilgrimage path (which is more likely to happen than when doing it in any other mode) should be valued as a special, once-in-a lifetime, opportunity[342] (41), and another pilgrim said that visiting the temples is not the main reason, but walking is[343] (48).

In the next chapter, before the topic of death (which is related to the motives for doing the pilgrimage) is analysed in depth, other common motives for doing the

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[342] "一期一会", *ichigo-ichie*, literally *one time-one meeting.*

[343] "私はお寺巡りが一番の目的ではないんで。。。私は「歩く」っていうのが目的なんです。"

pilgrimage will be examined. These shall be looked at first, so as to give a context into which memorialising the dead shall be placed. The next chapter will also look at how pilgrims understand temple traditions of the Shikoku pilgrimage relating to the cure of illnesses and diseases. This will provide a fascinating and useful window on how some people relate to the pilgrimage.

Chapter 6: Motives for doing the pilgrimage

Introduction

This part first analyses much statistical data, which was collected in my fieldwork, and compares and contrasts it with data gathered by other researchers. Collection of empirical data was seen as important, but so was oral testimony, as being useful to gleaning perceptions: this had been discussed in the 'methodology' section of this thesis. So, after evaluating statistical data on reasons for doing the pilgrimage, further reasons, as seen by temples, are given, followed by information from my interviews with pilgrims. For this, extensive fieldwork was conducted, and valuable results extracted. *Genze-riyaku*[344], *kuyō*[345] for the dead, praying for higher powers to cure the illnesses and diseases of oneself or one's living relatives, such as Hansen's disease or illnesses of the eyes, as well as seeking health through drinking water seen as consecrated by Kōbō Daishi, are all reoccurring motives for doing the pilgrimage.

Motives for doing the pilgrimage – statistical data

346 people that I briefly surveyed in April 2008 shared with me their reason or reasons for doing the pilgrimage. Out of these were 196 women (56.7%) and 150 men (43.3%), and it must be noted that in the analysis below, some pilgrims stated more than one reason for doing the pilgrimage, such as to stay healthy and find a good job. This makes the total of instances of reasons mentioned: 388.

1. Health wishes: 40% (Pilgrims usually used the term "*kenkō no tame*", which implies self-benefit (as opposed to, say, compassionate help for others). Benefits to one's own health as *kenkō no tame* are no doubt gained through the exercise of doing the pilgrimage, as well as through to the 'merit', or spiritual uplift, of doing the pilgrimage.
2. Memorialising the dead (*kuyō*) : 19.1%. Various deceased family members were referred to, such as mother, father, wife, husband, and child, but I found it inappropriate to ask for any further clarification. Examples in the part 'Shikoku pilgrimage and death' below will be given, where pilgrims carry the

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[344] 現世利益, 'this-worldly benefits' or 'benefits in the present life'.

[345] See note 95 on page 78.

ihai (memorial plates) of the deceased with them on the pilgrimage.Unlike 'health wishes', this is a case where people did the pilgrimage to benefit someone else. This means that pilgrims believed that they were accumulating merit and/or spiritual benefit through doing the pilgrimage, which they could transfer to a dead person. When Mr Ozaki pointed out that one can't live without the blessings of ancestors, *kami* and Buddhas, this was about getting benefit from these, whereas this part is about benefitting others: ancestors and other dead relatives. These are clearly inter-related: benefitting the dead may be seen to mean they calm down and do not bring problems to their living relatives.

3. For family/home safety and harmony: 13.1% ("*kanai anzen*"). Included here are to get family members into better harmony (mentioned by one women in her 30s, one in her 50s, one in her 60s, and two in their 70s; no men mentioned this item).
4. For material prosperity: 9.3%. The main focus here was for themselves: on the prospering of one's business; also to win in the lottery (looking at a pilgrim's serious face, I didn't think that it was meant as a joke. She smiled and added that she came from Osaka); to be able to pay debts back (one man in his 50s); to get a job (two women); that a son finds a job (a woman in her 70s); to say 'thank you' for getting a job (one woman in her 50s); to get a good chance in life (a woman); and to pray for a good harvest (a woman in her 40s).
5. To find a partner/to marry: 4.9%. A man in his 40s said this, and also a woman in her 50s, and two mothers (one was in her 70s) wished this for their sons.[346]
6. To get (grand-)children, or to say 'thank you' for receiving one: 2.6% One pilgrim told me that she prayed for a safe childbirth, some (men and women) told me that they prayed to get a grandchild, and a woman in her 70s told me that she did the pilgrimage to say 'thank you' for getting a cute grandchild.
7. For academic success: 0.8% (she told me that she prayed for herself: for passing an academic test.)
8. Other: 10.2% (my own label for assorted other specified reasons). This

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[346] A pilgrim reports that the mother of his wife had done one of the first package bus pilgrimage tours with Iyo Tetsu, and he states that his marriage was due to the merit accumulated through his mother's completing the pilgrimage (Iyo Tetsu, 2011c: 1).

> includes: people who read out loud ‘traffic safety’, which was printed on their *osame-fuda*; “to get happy” (many informants meant themselves, whilst several women asked for happiness for their daughters, and several men asked for happiness for the whole of their families); “to stop offending people” (one woman); “to say thank you as I got a calling in life” (one man in his 20s); “to pray for world peace” (one woman in her 50s).

Pilgrims do the pilgrimage with a set of rituals (which they are free to do as detailed as they want when travelling by themselves, or, in the case of traveling with a *sendatsu*, to join in accordingly)[347], which, so it is hoped, brings the desired benefits. They also do silent prayers. Observing the pilgrims, I had the impression that they do these prayers dedicated and earnestly. I would like to draw attention to a related video that I made on 20 May 2011 at temple #1, Ryōzen-ji, after pilgrims had offered candles, incense, and their *osame-fuda* at the *hon-dō*. They are reciting various *sūtra*s, and at the end, minutes 2:14~3:10, they are evidently engaged in silent prayers. After this, they take their *kongō-tsue* and proceed to the *daishi-dō*, where they do the same set of rituals. The link is:

> Video-recording: http://www.ryofupussel.org/video-1

Japanese Buddhism is a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and one might think that benefitting others was prized more than anything else, but it becomes clear that the Shikoku Pilgrimage incorporates a wide spectrum of motives and reasons, to benefit both others and oneself. *Genze-riyaku*-related ones were clearly central motives, besides memorialising the dead. However, to make this clear, this-worldly benefits are part of general Japanese religiosity, and not ‘unreligious’. Wishes detailed above include gaining material prosperity, finding a job, finding a partner to marry, and easy childbirth. Reader and Tanabe explain this as follows:

> Indeed, it is striking to note how closely the things sought through *genze-riyaku* are aligned with the prevailing ethos of modern secular societies in what they seek for their citizens: happiness, assurances about the future, success, solace, and lives that can be lived as much as possible free from unforeseen problems and dangers… [it can be seen] how the search for

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[347] When visiting the temple in a group, not all members necessarily engage in all ritual steps which the *sendatu* leads – some break away from the cluster to take photographs, others smoke a cigarette, and others stroll around or chat. But all in all, they usually join in.

> benefits… [is] backed by a set of ethical constraints and values… [that recognize] the obligations as well as the desires of the individual and therefore affirmed his or her social responsibility (1998: 257).

They conclude:

> This framework was central to the emergence of Buddhism as a vital, religious entity in Japan - introduced as a new and powerful source of this-worldly benefits that could produce treasures to one's heart's content… (260).

Reader and Tanabe do not see this this-worldly emphasis as a new thing. It is therefore not strange that Shinto and Buddhism could find common ground to peacefully co-exist side by side in the same compounds as complementary sources of this-worldly benefits.

It also seems that they may not only believe that the pilgrimage generates good karma, but that it also brings magical protection, and appeases possibly problematic ancestors, and draws protection and benefits from various deities. We do not know, as there is not enough data available, whether or not such a focus has increased in modern time (even Takamure did not state a clear reason for doing the pilgrimage; however, Alfred Bohner, in 1927, stated that many do the pilgrimage to accumulate good deeds (2010: 91-92): It may be – or may not be – that pilgrims have always done the pilgrimage for such reasons (in this, we focus on lay pilgrims: monks or priests would often have done/do it as religious training or part of their education).

To help ensure their wishes are fulfilled, pilgrims often buy symbolic amulets, talismans, sacred papers and wooden plates. For example, *goma* sticks can be purchased, and the pilgrim writes his or her wish on it, which will then later be burnt in the *goma*-ceremony by the temple's priest. These can be seen thrown into the fire and ritually burnt, as was done here at pilgrimage temple #88, Ōkubo-ji:

Plate 37: A large *goma*-ceremony conducted together by Shingon priests and *yamabushi* in the compound of pilgrimage temple #88, Ōkubo-ji. The *yamabushi* is throwing the above mentioned *goma*-sticks into the fire. Photograph taken on 2 March 2007

At many temples one can purchase amulets or stickers for traffic safety, such as at temple #58, Senyū-ji, which, through the portrayed Kōbō Daishi's five-pointed *vajra*, (*goko-shō*), is believed to protect the vehicle through 'special' power. *Bekkaku* temple number #4, Saba Daishi, sells consecrated papers to be put into one's wallet (it depicts Kōbō Daishi with the fish – see the temple's history explained in note 206 on page 127 – in his right hand, and rosary beads in his left hand): doing so, I was told when I purchased it there, protects one from losing one's wallet. Pilgrimage temples do not only cater for adults, but also have attractive 'goods' for the younger ones. For example, they target girls and young women with cute items, such as a strap for the cell phone depicting Kōbō Daishi in the form of a pink *Kitty Kitty* (a popular Japanese fictional character), sitting in *zazen* meditation with eyes closed, complete with robe, *kesa*, *juzu*, and *vajra*, and, in similar outfit and position, a Kōbō Daishi-*Hello Kitty* meditating and flying in the clouds, emitting rays of sunlight, and a key chain of a pilgrim-*Hello Kitty*, complete with straw hat in the back, *kongō tsue*, and "*dōgyō ninin*" written on the *tsuda-bukuro*, or a male and female pilgrim as *Hello-Kitty's*, also with "*dōgyō ninin*", offered for sale at pilgrimage temple #1, Ryōzen-ji. And if people wish to make a public statement that they did the pilgrimage and that it was, yes, fun, they can buy a funny sticker (purchased at a 24-hour Convenience Store in the city of Uwajima, near *bekkaku* temple #6, Ryūkō-in, the *okunoin* (outer sanctuary) of pilgrimage temple #40, Kanjizai-ji), depicting a laughing Kōbō Daishi in manga-style, over the mountains of Shikoku, and a happy-coloured rainbow shining over him. So in many of these, Kōbō Daishi figures, rather than, say *honzon* deities or *kami*.

These items have been collected and provide a fascinating and useful window on how some people relate to the pilgrimage.

All of these depict Kōbō Daishi in his fully-fledged robes or the pilgrim in traditional outfit, but still are styled so as to appeal to younger pilgrims. The city of Kōchi has published a small pamphlet *Kono Kōchi o shittemachūkae?* (this is in Tosa-dialect 'Do you know this Kōchi?'[348]), in which they briefly explain the Shikoku pilgrimage. An illustration of a pilgrimage couple in complete, traditional outfit (including wearing *waraji*, traditional straw sandals), is included and the items (such as *sugegasa*, *hakue*, *kongō-tsue*) are marked. It is a colourful, positive pamphlet, and one pilgrim is smiling and showing the way, whilst the other is looking eagerly, with a serious face. The Reijōkai's pamphlet *Shukubō ni tomarō* (see page 259) also has an illustration of a happy and smiling young female pilgrim, walking in front of lush, green mountains, and another illustration shows two traditional farm-houses nestled between rice fields, a forest, river, mountains and blue sky. Yes, the pilgrimage is fun and also requires some dedication, bringing one back into traditional Japan as well as nature. But one travels *dōgyō ninin*, so one is not alone, but Kōbō Daishi is there, too. It at least marks a connection to Kōbō Daishi. Kōbō Daishi in the form of a cute, pink *Hello Kitty* makes him so much more accessible, this is not a fearful, strict religious leader, but appearing in colourful robes and carrying the *kongō-tsue*, laughing, under the rainbow. He thus becomes much more accessible than, say a *Bosatsu* or *Nyorai*. And there is no way that this could compare with other religious founders, such as, say, Eihei Dōgen, and his uncompromisingly strict Zen-discipline; Muho writes in detail about his hard experiences whilst training in Sōtō and Rinzai-monasteries as a novice (2007: throughout); in my experience, when I joined the

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[348] Received in May 2011.

priests in conducting the morning ceremony at Zentsū-ji on several occasions and spend some time with the priests-in-training afterwards, I learned that the training at a Shingon temple is much less strict. Kōbō Daishi was born human but is seen to have transcended 'ordinary' death: so he is still existing as 'one of us'. Indeed, one can actually visit and 'talk' to Kōbō Daishi: in his Okunoin (mausoleum), where, for believers, he is still 'alive'. He is believed by many to listen to, and fulfil, prayers. And although he might be in the Okunoin *in persona*, he is omnipresent, everywhere, protecting, guiding, helping, fulfilling wishes, and performing miracles. With all of this, although he has *transcended* his human existence and death, he is still present *in his human* form: such as countless statues all around Shikoku, or the aforesaid sticker, as a begging monk on his pilgrimage round in Shikoku. This is the way that he is depicted on these contemporary items, and this makes it easy to 'connect' with him. And because of this, he can be prayed to for fulfilment of wishes, such as, say, academic success, or winning in the lottery, or finding a partner to marry, or easy childbirth. Prayers do get directed to founders in other sects, too (while the founders of new religions are also often prayed to in such a manner); however, Kōbō Daishi's difference is that he has transcended sectarian boundaries and become a folk-based 'saint' like figure – and this does differ from other Buddhist founders, who do not 'wander' as he does. In the Shikoku pilgrimage, pilgrims would pray at the main hall to the temple's chief deity and ask for their wishes to be fulfilled, and would do the same at the Daishi-hall: both, the Buddhist deity (as a more 'distanced' deity) and Kōbō Daishi (as 'closer' to human beings), peacefully co-exist side by side in the same compounds and complement each other, and one might even say, 'combine' their powers. Please see also plate 69 on page 307 for this.

Indeed, illustrating this, the below plate shows a pilgrim, Kihara, 'connecting' silently to Kōbō Daishi. She called the act on this photograph as becoming "related to Kōbō Daishi" (2009: 48). When I asked her to explain this particular picture, she wrote, in English, as follows: "[I]… wish our (me + my friend's) safe travel all the way to next temples. Normally [during the pilgrimage] I wish for my family's good health" (note, the next temple, #60, Yokomine-ji, a *nansho*, is very hard to ascend, combined with the danger of the *mamushi*-snakes (see also plate 53 on page 243).

Plate 39: Kihara Rie is ‘connecting’ with Kōbō Daishi and making a wish. Photograph courtesy of Kihara, taken at temple #59, Kokubun-ji on 3 September 2008

In another instance, she wrote that “I believe that Kōbō Daishi led me to the pilgrimage forum at Matsuyama Shinonome College on February 2008….” [which resulted in vital support for her Bachelor’s thesis] (Kihara, 2009: 1). In other words, Kōbō Daishi is ‘blessing’ the life of believers and this includes arranging for a good fate/karma.

Motives for doing the pilgrimage – other sources and further fieldwork

To place this into broader context, how about the motives for doing the Shikoku Pilgrimage in past times? The Tosa city government describes that in the past[349], leaving for the pilgrimage was a huge event for the village, where everybody came together, just like a festival, calling “farewell, and take care!” to the pilgrim leaving, and when he or she would return, they would again celebrate it, shouting “welcome

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[349] No time is specified. The wording they use is “… de atta”, which is a suffix indicating past tense.

back" as he approached (Tosashi-shi henshū iinkai, 1978: 1264). This was a major meaning for the village, wishing the pilgrim good luck and celebrating his departure as well as his return. It bound the village/villagers together. But how about the meaning that the pilgrimage had for the individual pilgrim? What were their reasons and motives? Many have already been listed in this thesis. The above publication of Tosa city states that the *nōkyō-chō* was regarded as a 'family treasure' (1978: 1264). In addition, the Ōtsuki-chō town-administration states that in the past (no year or period of Japanese history given), if a girl had not done the pilgrimage, it would have been difficult for her to marry[350], and a woman who would have done the pilgrimage would be seen as having a fine character (1995: 1144f) [351], as per my translation, with the original quoted in footnotes:

> It is said that there was a time at [some] fishing- and farming-villages in Shikoku and Sanyō-area [including Okayama], when for the daughter having done the pilgrimage was a condition for marriage[352]…
>
> [In a case of someone saying] "that girl has not done the pilgrimage yet" she would not become the object of a marriage proposal. Further, if one asked for the daughter's hand [and received the reply from the parents], "well, this girl has not done the pilgrimage yet", this meant that she did not have the wish to be married yet[353]…
>
> To ask to become married as well as to get married, the pilgrimage seemed to have been a very natural part of daily life[354]…
>
> A pious daughter, so it seems to have been believed, had a friendly heart, [devoted in] ancestor worship, was friendly and caring for the parents and elderly[355].

Reader explains that Hoshino (2001: 151) wrote that the Shikoku pilgrimage also served as an initiation rite during the seventeenth and nineteenth century (2005: 127

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[350] Kouamé's research of old documents revealed around 25% female pilgrims between 1666 and 1880 (2001: 71f.).

[351] Regarding more modern times, it is stated on page 1145, that during 1940~41, several small groups of up to five female walking pilgrims were seen in Ōtsuki-chō village. One would however expect hardly any pilgrims, be they male or female, during war-time: men were sent to war, and women and children worked in war-related matters.

[352] 四国と山陽地方の農漁村の中には、結婚前の娘さんは、遍路することが結婚条件ともなっていた時代があったといわれます。

[353] 「あの娘（こ）はまだ遍路していない」となれば、結婚の対象になれなかった。また、嫁にもらいたいというとき「この娘はまだ遍路していないから」というと、結婚の意志のないこと意味した。

[354] もらうにしても、やるにしても遍路することが生活の中とけ込んでいたことを物だろ。

[355] 信心ぶかい娘さんは、心がやさしく、祖先を崇拝し、親や老人に親切で、大切にする娘であると考えられたのであろう。

and 300, note 104).

Bohner also reported in 1930 that he learned that young people followed the traditional advice to marry after they have completed the pilgrimage: this was especially true in Tokushima and North-Kyūshū (2010: 91).

The above quotations illustrate the social 'value' and importance that the pilgrimage had, and how much it was interwoven with the daily life in some small, rural villages in Shikoku and its surrounding areas on the mainland. It is also interesting how a pilgrim was regarded to be of friendly character, fulfilling his or her duties such as caring for the parents and other elderly people.

Regarding the present day situation, temple #51, Ishite-ji, states in a pamphlet, retrieved at their *nōkyō-sho* on 23 May 2009, that people should consider doing the pilgrimage when their child or a family member or friend has died, or when they have lost their job, or suffer from chronic diseases that offer no hope of being healed, if they are contemplateing on committing suicide, or to repent sins: through walking in Kōbō Daishi's footsteps, undergoing the hardship of the pilgrimage, receiving *o-settai* and the friendliness of the local people, their problems will become lighter.

The above 'doing the pilgrimage… when one has lost their job' sounds like a *very* modern day reason for doing it.

When I reflect upon my own motivation for first doing the pilgrimage, back in 1993, it was an interest and fascination with a part of Japanese Buddhism, history and society. But I then came to realize that, when doing it again, I also felt a relief to 'get away' from everyday life and enter a 'special life' which is beyond everyday worries, matters and concerns, entering a period of time that is very simple to understand and follow, especially when doing it walking (as an English woman stated: "The life of a henro is very simple. All we have to do each day is get up and walk", quoted in Kihara, 2009: 22): getting up at 5am, eating and drinking, using the toilet, regularly renewing the suntan lotion so as not to get sunburnt, moving, engaging in rituals, collecting the stamps and seals, checking for directions, interacting with local people as well as fellow pilgrims, enjoying the beautiful nature, birds and temples, being concerned about time when it gets close to 5pm when the *nōkyō-sho* close and the *shukubō* need to be entered (as dinner would be at 6pm), proceeding to the accommodation, taking a bath and sleeping at 9pm.These activities are very simple and yet indispensable, and repeated day after day, so one really can get lost in this: there is no time for everyday-life-thoughts and worries, they seem to disappear into the distance; and when one gets home after the pilgrimage, they immediately appear again, in a kind of painful way; then, one wishes oneself back to the pilgrimage, with all its freedom. Surely, hardship is found there too, and freedom is not as real as it seems, as one is still bound to many rules and regulations; however, these can be bent and amended to one's own needs and circumstances. It is fair to assume that being able to get away from everyday life is a major factor: one can become addicted to the 'fleeing from everyday-life' through the pilgrimage.

The pilgrims whom Hershfield interviewed gave the following reasons: grandparents did it, so he does it now, to commemorate retirement, to enjoy it with friends together, to give thanks for being very healthy, as a memorial for the husband who died four years ago, as a memorial for the wife lost two years ago (1992 movie: minutes 7f). In this thesis, cases will be mentioned where Japanese do the pilgrimage in memory of their deceased family members, which is a major motive of doing the pilgrimage.

Other motives that Tommy Mendel found were sightseeing, the wish to be able make personal changes after the completion of the pilgrimage, another pilgrim commented "it's the way between temples that counts", and one woman stated that it was an excuse to get out of the house and gain some freedom (2006: movie, throughout)[356].

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[356] Kihara, having interviewed 34 foreigners (17 from the United States, 6 from Canada, 3 from England, 2 each from France and Australia, 1 each from Germany, Netherlands, New Zealand and Switzerland), found that their motives range from being interested to learn about Buddhism, hoping to change their life or to get a different look at life, hoping to sit zazen-meditation on problems experienced with friends, spending time with one's father after the mother had died, getting a better understanding of life, being interested to do a pilgrimage after having completed Santiago de Compostela, visiting places not on the mainstream-tourist path, meeting Japanese people in general and using it as a means to practise Japanese where no English is spoken (2009: 18, 20-23). MacGregor interviewed 15 foreigners, and found out something similar: interest in Japanese history, traditions, architecture, curiosity about the pilgrimage, to give thanks, experience Japanese people, as a spiritual discipline; however, she concludes that foreign pilgrims "account only for a very small minority of pilgrims" (2002: 21-28). Foreigners may be an entirely different category, as this recent research appears to indicate.

Sightseeing and experiencing the nature are surely reasons for doing the pilgrimage. That locals are generally friendly, often offering *o-settai*, also helps creating a fond memory of the island of Shikoku. Morris writes about her own experiences:

> I felt a new sense of belonging during the pilgrimage. I let the sun, wind, and rain leave their marks on my skin… after two alienating years in Tokyo during which I had lost much of my confidence and happiness, I felt myself again (2007: 36).

In my in-depth interactions with pilgrims in October 2010 at temples #38 and #75, as well as with the Ozaki family, they were also sharing with me the reasons why they do the pilgrimage. The husband at temple #38 said that the pilgrimage was just his hobby, he needed a reason to walk around. However, he had always been interested in this pilgrimage, but saw himself as not religious. He said that the pilgrimage is a sacred thing[357] and that doing it brings out something good in oneself. His wife had read a book about the Shikoku pilgrimage (the author, a woman, did it when she was 60), so she wanted to do it, too, as she was nearly same age as author (she had been 62 at that time, and her husband 60). Also, she had stayed with someone who told her he did the pilgrimage when he retired at age 60 and since he was bored, he did it, and his wife said "it's nice to have a healthy husband who is not at home"[358]. He has been walking once every year, and when he turned 70, he subsequently walked twice every year. Both, this husband and wife whom I talked to at #38, shared an interest in nature's beauty and tasty foods, and knew some Buddhist key phrases and concepts. And, although they made some fun of the fact that they are walking it together (such as "we keep a good distance from each other", "marriage is like that; you have to follow your wife", "I've learned my lessons. I never disagree with her"), they were sharing beer, and, as far as I could sense, had a good harmony. So, making the varied experiences of this pilgrimage together, sharing the joy and hardship, is an important motive, too. Man 2, who was at that time 72 years old, was walking alone, and did the pilgrimage because he had been experiencing some difficulties in his life: he had had a hard time about three years ago (thus in 2007); he said "Many good things happen in 62 years, as well as difficult things"[359]. He also did it for memorialising the dead.

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[357] 神妙, *shinmyō*, pointing to to serious, full-hearted, dedicated, earnest practice.

[358] 亭主元気で留守がいいってね。

[359] ６２年も生きると、いいこともあるけど、つらいことも、やっぱり必ずあるんですね。

At temple #75, man 1 told us that pilgrimage is like “resetting“, “restarting” his life, but he is not sure whether he can really “restart” though. His mother had been a religious person, but he didn’t see himself as religious (“I’m a sinner”). She had done the 88-temple pilgrimage when she turned 60, and had gone to other places on Kōya-san etc., too. He showed us that he was wearing his mother’s *juzu*, and I understood from this part of our conversation that his mother was deceased, and that he was doing it to memorialise her, and wearing the *juzu* meant that a part of her is with him on the pilgrimage. He was married, but his wife, who was not retired yet, wouldn’t join him on the pilgrimage, and he said that she was happy that her husband was not at home. Man 2 said that walking was his hobby and that he did the pilgrimage so many times (he was on his seventh round) “to kill time”, it was nothing special to him (however, when we met later in in Tokyo I found out that he was very well informed and has read much about the pilgrimage). He added that pilgrimage is the “beginning of the second life” after retirement (he had retired five months ago). He, too, was married and walked alone. He commented on this as follows: When one retires, one shouldn’t stay at home all the time, one needs to have places to go to. “The wife will be annoyed if you’re at home all the time”, “she would hate it” if he took a nap in the afternoon: she would become furious. Man 3 did not really want to share his motives for doing the pilgrimage, but there is not just one reason, everybody has own individual reasons and “they come out as you walk”, and he added that there were many pilgrims from his area of residence.

As for the Ozaki grandfather, he told me his memories about the Second World War, and that he had experienced difficult times. When he had joined the army, he was 22 years young in 1939, and he returned in 1948, aged 31. He had been fighting in the Philippines, Java and Timor. His wife’s father had been doing the pilgrimage, and he had told them that they could earn blessings[360] if they also did it, so they “thought, why not receive blessings”, “it wouldn’t hurt doing it, right?”. He saw a proof that this is right in the fact that he was the oldest man in their neighbourhood; he said that he was blessed[361] by Kōbō Daishi. He added later that initially, he had just been following his wife in doing the pilgrimage (she was devoted and later became a *sendatsu*). As a reason for repeatedly doing the pilgrimage, he said that “as you go

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[360] ご利益, *go-riyaku.*

[361] ご加護, *go-kago*. In the sense of being ‘protected’.

more, the blessings[362] of Buddha increases, too. Visiting ten times is better than visiting only once, it shows more devotion and piety[363]". His son told us that he had just gotten his driver's license and so he wanted to give a ride to his father, and that through this he also could experience different sceneries, different seasons, different places in different prefectures, and it was also a good driving practice; he enjoyed it while also making his parents happy, and it gave him pleasure to see that they really appreciated it. He also saw blessings of the pilgrimage extend to traffic safety if one does it by car – they had never had an accident because of this, and also because they pray for safety for family in the pilgrimage.

Shikoku pilgrimage and the cure of illnesses and diseases – temple traditions and contemporary pilgrims' understanding

Hoshino quotes a poem by Takahama Kyoshi (1874-1959), relating to sickness of pilgrims (1997: 272):

> Even a sick child
> Is prepared for travel
> As a pilgrim.

In previous centuries[364], as well as contemporary times, people have turned to temples and other 'sacred' places – or indeed conducted pilgrimages – to pray for higher powers to cure them.

People just do the standard set rituals at pilgrimage temples, such as chanting the *Hannya-Shingyō* sūtra and *mantra*s (or choose only those that they wish to do[365]). There is not a menu of various set rituals for bringing specific benefits, but people also do explicit prayers in silence: see the above introduced audio-visual material (page 86) minutes 2:14~3:10:

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[362] 尊さ, *tōtosa*.

[363] 信心深うて神々しさ感じる。

[364] See for example Shinnen's *Henro Kudokuki* of 1690, with its miracle tales of healing various illnesses in Shikoku (Reader, 2005: 118).

[365] Generally, bus-tours guided by *sendatsu* do the whole set of up to 15 items, whereas individually travelling pilgrims do considerably less. For example, *sendatsu* should chant the *mantra*s *hotsubodaishin-shingon* ("*on bōji shitta bodahadayami*") and *sanmayakai-shingon* ("*on sanmaya satoban*") each thee times before the *Hannya-Shingyō*, but I have never experienced individually travelling pilgrims doing that.

Video-recording: http://www.ryofupussel.org/video-1

As examples from the twentieth century, Alfred Bohner (1930, in 2010: 92-93) wrote about a wife who had experienced complications during childbirth, after which she was unable to move her feet. Because her condition did not get any better, her husband built a two-wheeled cart (Bohner uses the Japanese term *izari-guruma* as well as its German translation *Krüppelwagen*, (crippled [person's] cart): 93). Together with their now 8 years old son they walked the pilgrimage *gyaku-uchi* from temple #88 to #52, where they used the hot baths of Dōgō Onsen, into which her husband had to carry her on his back. Her condition improved, and they stayed there for some more time, until she finally completely recovered the use of her feet. Convinced that it is because the good deeds of the pilgrimage and the power of Kōbō Daishi invoked through this, as well as the use of the hot spring, they donated the *izari-guruma* to temple #51, Ishite-ji, before they walked back home.

He gave other examples of cures of illnesses, such as from stomach cramps (he had met this pilgrim personally and confirmed the validity of this), and from depressions (from one of his students from the high school where he had worked in Matsuyama[366], who had failed the university entrance examination, but returned from the pilgrimage healed and happy (92).

In 1918, Takamure Itsue described that she had met many ill pilgrims (1979: 105), and her meeting a pilgrim suffering from Hansen's disease (172).

At temple #71, Iyadani-ji, braces and crutches left next to the stairway leading to the *hon-dō* by 'spiritually' healed pilgrims can be seen:

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[366] He worked there between 1922 and 1928.

Plate 38: Temple #71, Iyadani-ji. On my first pilgrimage: Crutches, braces and other items of healed pilgrims next to the stairway leading to the *hon-dō*. Photograph taken in October 1994

Ueda and Statler depict the same in their documentary movie *A Pilgrimage to the 88 Sacred Places on Shikoku* (1983: minute 4), and so does Reader (2005: 68). On a later visit, I found that these items are no longer there, which is why this plate is included here. According to Reader, they were removed in 2005 as part of an attempt to 'modernise' the pilgrimage and eradicate signs of 'superstition' in the lead-up to the application for World Heritage status and as part of a wider programme from the early/mid 2000s to make the pilgrimage more attractive to an increasingly secularised Japanese audience[367].

A contemporary example of the pilgrimage and the cure of illnesses is Mr M. from Gunma-Prefecture. We stayed at the *shukubō* of temple #2, Gokuraku-ji, and we talked there on the evening of the 3 December 2009 after we had dinner together. He told me that he had had a head stroke in August 2004, and was hospitalized for two months. Barely able to move his right side, he decided to put all his faith in the healing-power of Kōbō Daishi, became rather better, and was subsequently released from the hospital. He then engaged on the 88-temple pilgrimage in order to become

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[367] Personal e-mail communication, 7 October 2011.

completely healed by his saviour and the act of engaging in the pilgrimage, by walking it in three parts, first in the autumn of 2005 (#1-#30), then in spring of 2006 (#31-#51) and in autumn of 2006 (#52-#88). During this, he carried an eight-kilogram heavy rucksack for two hours every day, and became completely cured. He regards this as absolute proof of the healing-power of Kōbō Daishi. Mr M. then subsequently decided to walk it again as an *orei-mairi, a pilgrimage to say thank you*, in two parts, during 2009, firstly in spring (#18-#51) and then in autumn/winter (#52-#17), during which we met at temple #2. As he had developed a bond with the temple #18 on his previous pilgrimage, he wanted to start it there this time. He called Shikoku the "*Shikoku-byōin*", "*Shikoku Hospital*", and his pilgrimage "*Shikoku-byōin nyūin*", "*Hospitalization at the Shikoku Hospital*". A relation can be seen to the slogan and signs that were put up at various places by Rev. Kinoshita of temple #1 and others on the pilgrimage trail "*Shikoku wa kokoro no hospitaru*", "*Shikoku is a hospital of the heart/soul*", as will be mentioned below.

So, some receive healing by doing the entire pilgrimage, as in the case with Mr M. Others visit a certain temple: Well-known for curing illnesses are in particular the following pilgrimage temples, the majority of which are located in Tokushima. It could be that the reason for this is that these are near the common start of the pilgrimage, so as to immediately start giving curing-power – what many seek in the pilgrimage, and to strengthen people for the rest of the pilgrimage:

Temple #2, Gokuraku-ji: There is an old, 6 metre high, cedar in the compound, said to have been planted by Kōbō Daishi, named *chōmei-sugi*, *longevity cedar*: it is believed that if a pilgrim touches it, he or she will live to old age. I have met pilgrims who embraced the tree. Mingling with nature, or embracing a tree can be seen as a spiritual experience in Japan, and such 'religious activity' expresses a relationship with nature (which is related to divine beings):

Plate 39: A pilgrim embracing the *chōmei-sugi, longevity-cedar*-tree of temple #2, Gokuraku-ji; photograph taken on 15 October 2007

Temple #3, Konsen-ji: Kōbō Daishi is said to have stayed there for religious practice. During that time he is believed to have found a well out of which golden water came, so he renamed the temple Konsen-ji, the Temple of the Golden Spring. The well is called *kogane no ido, the well of pure gold*. It is said that if a pilgrim looks down and sees his or her face reflected in the water, they will live up to the age of 92, but if not, they might die within three years. The consumption of the water of the well is said to support a long life. Trying it out, I saw my face reflected in the water of the well[368]. See also temple #17 below.

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[368] As an origin of the idea of seeing one's face in the well, at those times, one did not have a chance to see the face so often, as mirrors were not commonly used, so commoners might have used wells for this.

Temple #4, Dainichi-ji: A well used to obtain water for the basin for ritual washing (purifying) of the hands and mouth: in past times, it was white-coloured water, called *crab water,* which was said to be good for stomach ailments. However, these days, a pump is used, and it has lost its white colour, and with the loss of colour, people found that its mystical healing-power was lost, too.

Temple #13, Dainichi-ji: The temple compound has recently enshrined a newly created deity-image, named *Shiawase-Kannon*, *The Kannon of Happiness*, which is placed between the *hon-dō* and the *daishi-dō.* It is believed to cure depressions, lack of self-esteem, lack of, what the head priest[369] labelled to me[370] as "fighting spirit"[371] for pilgrims to succeed in the hardships of the pilgrimage', and also the cure of other "illnesses and problems of the heart"[372].

Temple #15, Kokubun-ji: As its *daishi-dō* was completely destroyed by fire in 1993, and still awaits rebuilding, the pilgrims use the Usu-*sama* hall as a *daishi-dō* in the meantime. Usu-*sama* Myōō (Skt. Uccuşma rāja) is said to generally extinguish all dirty karma (bad karma), and, particularly at this temple, to keep the toilet of one's house clean[373]. Pilgrims do not mind that the praying to Kōbō Daishi is conducted in front of this small Usu-*sama* Hall, and not the dedicated Daishi Hall; it makes no difference where Kōbō Daishi's statue is placed, as the prayers will reach him surely wherever he is, as I was told. Of course, prayers are in any case done outside (in front of) the Daishi-hall, rather than in it (see plate 42 on page 220).

Temple #17, Ido-ji: As the temple legend goes, Kōbō Daishi stayed there at a *dōjō* in 815 for religious practice. At that time, the water in this area was dirty, the farmers were troubled, and Kōbō Daishi wanted to help them. So he stuck his *shakujō* into the ground, left it there for one night, and then clean water came out. A well was constructed, the area became known as 'ido-mura', 'the village of the well', and thus the *dōjō* was renamed 'Ido-ji', 'the temple of the well'. The well is located in a small

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[369] She and the head priest of temple #73, Shusshaka-ji, are the only female head priests of the 88 pilgrimage temples.

[370] When I talked to her about this at the *nokyō-sho* on 25 August 2008.

[371] 「頑張る気」were the words she used.

[372] 「心の悩みと病気」 were her words.

[373] And the temple is famous for selling a holy paper of Usu-*sama* Myōō as talisman for posting at the wall of one's toilet, so as to keep it clean and disease-free.

Plate 40: Two pilgrims praying outside in front of the Usu-*sama* Hall. In the lower left of the picture, parts of the foundation stones of the old *daishi-dō* can be seen, waiting to be reconstructed. Photograph taken on 26 October 2010

white hut. It is said that if one looks down the well and sees one's own face reflected in the water, one is in good health and will enjoy longevity, but if it is not reflected, one will become ill and die earlier. Therefore, it is called *omokage no ido, the well of the reflection of one's face* (same as at #3, I took the chance, and saw my face reflected in water). When Kōbō Daishi looked down the well, he, too, saw his face, according to what people believe. He was, it could be assumed, fondly surprised of his face, because he is said to have subsequently carved a statue of himself, which is now displayed in the *daishi-dō*. It is called *Hikagiri Daishi*: if one prays there with a wish and states the number of days until this wish is to be fulfilled, and visits this *Hikagiri Daishi* every day for that specific number of days, then it is believed that the wish will be fulfilled. I inquired at the office how many days are usual, as surely, for example, "one day" would go against the idea, and was told that "108" is the common amount of days. If this is correct, then I assume that, as few pilgrims will remain at this temple for 108 days, this must be done primarily by local people. I talked to a group of pilgrims[374] at the well, and they all confirmed, being happy and laughing, that they could see their face. I then asked what this means to them (“*utsuttara, dō ni narimasu ka*?*”),* and they answered “*nagai ki suru*”, “I (we) will live long [and healthy]”:

Plate 41: A group of pilgrims is looking into the well of temple #17, Ido-ji, photograph taken 26 October 2010

Temple 27, Kōnomine-ji in Kōchi: Site of probably one of the best known modern healing tales: the wife of *tokunin daisendatsu* Mizutani Shigeki was healed here from her spinal tuberculosis (Reader 2005: 176; Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 113-116).

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[374] On 26 October 2010.

Temple #34, Tanema-ji in Kōchi: Praying at this temple is believed to support easy childbirth. Believers who have experienced this leave a symbolic water ladle there with the names of their babies written on it to commemorate this. As the temple officer informed me on 29 October 2010, first, pregnant women purchase the *hishaku* (water ladle), write down the expected date of birth, and leave it at the temple for one week, during which the priest performs prayers and rituals for an easy childbirth. The pregnant woman then takes this home and puts it up in her *tokonoma*, *alcove for art*, until she gives birth. After she has experienced an easy childbirth, she would then return it to the temple and hang it up there. The meaning of the ladle being without a bottom is that it is like a hole, and water can flow through this easily, symbolising easy childbirth. Additional talismans for easy childbirth are sold there, too.

Plate 42: The hollow water ladles and the Kannon *Bosatsu*, who can be seen to hold a new-born baby in the left hand. Photograph taken on 6 December 2009 at temple #34, Tanema-ji

Temple #46, Jōruri-ji in Ehime: There is a *bussoku-seki*, a *stone with the Buddha's footprints* engraved in it, which is said to cure illnesses of the feet if one stands on it with bare feet (see plate below). Upon inquiry[375], the *nōkyō-sho*-officer told me that this *bussoku-seki* is of modern origin (produced and installed before the Second

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[375] On 31 October 2010.

World War) and not related to Kōbō Daishi, because they symbolically portray the Buddha's footprints, but rather to this temple's *honzon*, Yakushi *Nyorai*, which he explains as "*hotokesan no oishasan*", "the medical doctor of the Buddha". There is quite an amount of people who come to step on it, as a rule barefoot, in order to heal problems with the legs, or to preserve their health[376]. Pilgrims I met there understood its merits, and placed their bare feet onto this stone so as to get, in their case, relief from fatigue, as this member and several others of her one-day-walking group, who eagerly[377] followed her example, told me:

Plate 43: The *bussoku-seki*-stone of temple #46, Jōruri-ji: Walking pilgrim feeling already better! Photograph taken on 8 December 2009

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[376] His words were「足の悪い人とか、足の弱い人、良く裸足になって、上がったりする」。

[377] By this I mean that the *sendatsu* told me that he wanted to continue the trip, as they had been quite behind their time schedule, but as it happened, the women, one by one, eagerly took off their shoes and stepped onto the *bussoku-seki*. 「やらなくちゃ！」, "One just has to to do it!", were their words.

The late Mr H. of Muya, Naruto-city, told me back in 1994, that he did the pilgrimage in order to cure the illness of his eyes. Mr H. would not only do the entire pilgrimage (*kugiri-uchi, in parts*), but also visit the temple #77 in particular on many occasions to pray for better eye-sight, as well as temple #22, Byōdō-ji (see pages 229-238), to fetch water for drinking and cooking. Indeed, health-preserving or -restoring through 'holy' (consecrated) water, blessed through Kōbō Daishi, is a dominant theme in beliefs about curing illnesses in the Shikoku pilgrimage. According to temple literature and the NHK television series, there are four temples on Shikoku that are particularly valued for curing diseases of the eyes:

- Temple #7, Jūraku-ji: For many centuries, the temple has been said to cure illnesses of the eyes, if one prays to its Jizō *Bosatsu*, who is also venerated to bring relief to dead (particularly aborted) babies.
- Temple #33, Sekkei-ji: It is believed that praying at this temple is good for the eyes.
- Temple #39, Enkō-ji: In 795, Kōbō Daishi is believed to have visited this temple, and, as the local people suffered from lack of drinking water, stuck his *kongō-tsue* into the ground, and clear water sprung up. The well is still there, called *me arai-ido*, *the well for washing one's eyes*. It is said that washing one's eyes with this water cures illnesses of the eyes[378].
- Temple #77, Dōryū-ji: There are approximately 100 bronze Kannon statues in the compound, and a newly built hut for prayers to cure illnesses of the eyes, which was donated by an eye doctor from Marugame city. The simple syllables for "eye", pronounced "*me*", in hiragana: "め" or in kanji: "目" are written on thousands of small papers, which are kept inside the hall:

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[378] As a side-remark, I found the water slightly impure, so I would not recommend washing one's eyes with it.

Plate 44: ‘め’donated to temple #77, Dōryū-ji: photographs taken on 25 May 2011

Hansen’s disease/leprosy: *Izari-matsu*, *izari-guruma* and *senmai-dōshi*

Reader explains:

> Those who contracted the disease were often driven from their homes because of the fear that they would otherwise spread it, some even chased away by their own families, who were concerned that if such news got around, all in the family would be ostracized. Sufferers often became outcasts chased from place to place, so that many found a life of permanent travel, becoming a pilgrim in Shikoku and sustaining themselves through begging alms… Shikoku… was appealing to sufferers because of its promise or hope of miraculous cures… (2005: 133-134).

Examples of artefacts left by these at a temple can be found on plate 40 on page 216.

According to its temple history booklet, the head priest of pilgrimage temple #4, Dainichi-ji, traditionally comes from the Manabe-family, and the former head priest (before the Second World War) was well known for giving out medicine to, and taking good care of, pilgrims who suffered from Hansen’s Disease.

An officer, representing Mr Nomura, the head of the governing body of the *National Ōshima Seisho-en Sanatorium* on Ōshima island, Kagawa Prefecture, which is used *exclusively* for leprosy patients[379], informed me[380], that until 1925 there were many Hansen pilgrims, and that there were separate, narrow, special pilgrimage paths for them, but these paths were kept secret, so they cannot be located anymore; a publication subsequently received by the sanatorium (2009) states that it was founded in April 1910 to locate the leprosy patients from all four prefectures of Shikoku as well as surrounding prefectures Okayama, Hiroshima, Shimane, and Yamaguchi, all bundled together in one place. This isolated island is 8 km away from the port of Takamatsu and only accessible by boat**,** and there were still 127 Hansen patients there as of 2008. They are still treated on this island, apart from other people. The same *Ōshima Seisho-en Sanatorium* publication says that by the end of the Taishō-Period (1912-1926), a Mini-88-temple pilgrimage circuit had been built on the island: the head abbot of Motoyama-ji-temple had the initial idea, however, he passed away, and the head abbot of Jissō-ji then implemented the plan and had it

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[379] It is also labeled as *leprosarium*.

[380] By telephone on 13 April 2009.

built, as a donation to the island community. While appearing as a friendly act, it could also, at least in part, be seen as a means to keep the ill patients on the island, without the need to engage in the pilgrimage on Shikoku, as they had now a Mini-pilgrimage on their own island, so there was no need any more to travel throughout Shikoku for receiving the benefits of this pilgrimage.

Another example of crippled or otherwise handicapped pilgrims is found at the *bekkaku* temple #12: Enmei-ji (commonly called Izari-Matsu): According to the temple legend, when Kōbō Daishi walked around Shikoku, he met a crippled man who had lived next to a *matsu* (*pine*) tree for a long time. When he administered to him a consecrated *senmai-dōshi* (*a thousand consecrations*: a tiny paper slip) with the *mantra* written on it '*Namu Amida Butsu*' to drink with water, he immediately regained his health, and Kōbō Daishi ordained him, giving him the monk's name Hōnin. Thus, the pine tree is called *izari-matsu*, *the pine tree of the crippled*, and the *mantra* printed on the present-day *senmai-dōshi* is '*Namu Amida Butsu Hōnin*' (adding the name 'Hōnin' to refer to this event). The temple is therefore commonly called by the name *Izari-matsu*, and *senmai-dōshi* are sold there. *Izari* is old Japanese and means *cannot walk* and refers to someone who moves on a wooden plate with wheels on it, pushing forward by his or her hands; it has a slightly negative meaning, implying a crippled homeless. *Izari* is an old expression, which is not commonly used anymore, and comes, linguistically, from *zuru-zuru*, *sliding with a sound*. So, 'Saint' Kōbō Daishi is believed to have taken care of the crippled outcasts. For another example, see also the next section about temple #22, Byōdō-ji.

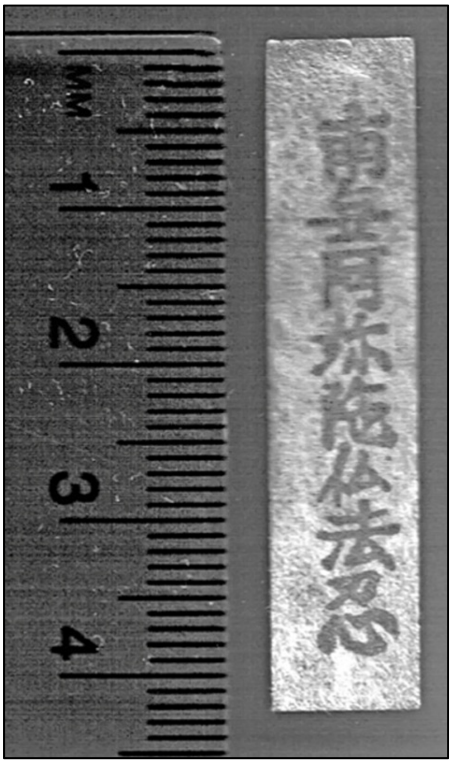

Plate 45: A *senmai-dōshi* slip of *bekkaku*-temple #12, Enmei-ji, with the inscription "*Namu Amida Butsu Hōnin*"[381]. Koll, who partook of them without believing in their healing power, which, led to, as he saw it, his twisted and swollen right ankle as 'punishment' for his non-belief (movie, 2008: min. 74-76)

Plate 46: At *bekkaku*-temple #12, Enmei-ji: a part that is believed to be from the original Izari Matsu tree. People who believed that they were miraculously healed at this place left straw sandals or other symbols of the pilgrimage, such as straw hats, there; photograph taken on 10 December 2009

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[381] This is not meant to imply that Hōnin was an incarnation of Amida Buddha; his name is added after the *mantra* of Amida Butsu to relate to this story.

‘Consecrated’ water of temple #22, Byōdō-ji

Plate 49: The well of temple #22, Byōdō-ji, with the ’consecrated’ water to be taken out from the opening at the bottom; photograph taken on 16 October 2007

In 1918, Takamure mentions this temple and its ‘holy’ water in her travelogue (1979: 175). Alfred Bohner also writes about the healing powers experienced by lame pilgrims after having stayed for some days at this temple, during which they would have consumed the water, and he points out such a case from the beginning of December 1927. (orig. 1930; 2010 edition: 92-93). Many of these can be assumed to be people suffering from Hansen’s disease.

As the temple legend has it, when Kōbō Daishi stayed here, he saw five clouds during his religious practice in the shape of a golden Sanskrit letter: “*Bhai*”, corresponding to Yakushi *Nyorai* (Bhaişajya-guru). He subsequently changed the temple name (the origin of the temple building is not known) to *Byōdō-ji*, the *Temple of Equality*, as Yakushi *Nyorai,* too, is seen to heal everybody equally without any distinctions. Then, as Kōbō Daishi needed water during his 100 days of practice, he dug a well, and white water came out. This gave the name to the mountain: *Hakusui-zan*, the *Mountain of the White Water*. He took a bath in this water, cleaned himself, and then carved the *honzon* of Yakushi *Nyorai*, which is said to be enshrined at the *hon-dō* (it is not shown to the public). It is said that this well, called *hakusui no ido*, *the well of the white water,* has never dried up ever since. This *honzon* will become important in the section below about a spiritual healing of a pilgrim.

The temple states in their pamphlet the following medical benefits "*As the consecrated water of Kōbō, it is known throughout Japan to heal all kinds of illnesses*"[382]. Not only, I was assured by the friendly lady in the *nōkyō-sho* office, is the chief deity of this temple Yakushi *Nyorai*, who is seen to bring health to people, but as the temple name *byōdō* means *equality* it is said that drinking this water heals all kinds of illnesses of all people regardless of their age, social background etc. An analysis helps to understand the motives of the Shikoku pilgrims better, and what role Kōbō Daishi has in this for them, in particular that of 'faith' in healing.

However, at the onset of my fieldwork, the question for me was: at first inspection the water looked dirty to my eyes, which surprised me; so what if it was found that the consumption of this water would pose health risks and harm those that consume it? Would I as a researcher not have a duty to look into this matter, when I had the opportunity to conduct a scientific analysis? Or should I just look away and not care further, thinking it is not my business and "people also worship the River Ganges and say they regard it holy even though the water is polluted". I was confronted with an ethical question as a researcher in the fieldwork process. I came to the conclusion to conduct an analysis. So, I acquired water, in a special clean container, on location on 27 April 2009, and a subsequent analysis was conducted in two parts: those tests that I could administer myself at home and those for which a professional laboratory[383]

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[382] 「万病にきく「弘法霊水」として、全国に知られています」。

[383] Ecotest Co., Ltd., 2-37-24 Eitai, Koto-ku, Tokyo, Japan. Further information at: http://www.ecotest.jp

was contracted, and it was found that the consecrated water poses no health risks[384], and that also it has moderately good mineral content[385], which means that its consumption is moderately beneficial to one's health.

This was a good finding for three reasons. Firstly, I could relax with regard to my ethical concerns, knowing that the consumption of this water was safe; secondly, I visited the temple on 27 October 2010 and presented an official certificate of the results of the test by the professional laboratory in Tokyo to the wife of the head priest (her husband, Rev. Taniguchi Kōryō, had not been available at that time), which she was very happy about, as it, in her eyes, confirmed parts of the claims made by this temple. This led to, thirdly, that she consequently guided me to some artefacts, kept at the *hon-dō*, that further 'prove' this: see below plates. These then resulted in a visit to a spiritually healed pilgrim at his home in Tokushima-Prefecture.

Now these artefacts in the *hon-dō* and the subsequent in-depth interview (which were an 'outcome' of the initial water analysis) were very important, because these are connected to the understanding and meaning-making of the people – their religious practices: touching aspects of the metaphorical, mystical, and symbolic.

Ms Taniguchi told me that in older times (she used the term *mukashi*) there were several crippled people, who could not walk, and who lived hidden from the outside world under the roof of this *hon-dō* in these small wooden carts (she, too, used the term *izari-guruma*). However, they drank this water, became cured, and could subsequently walk again. The word about these healing powers spread, and the water became known to cure all kinds of illnesses (*nanbyō ni kiku*). There is a plate attached to one of the carts, stating "*Bussoku mamori, ashi koshi mamori, nōkyō-sho ni arimasu*" ("We have a talisman showing Buddha's feet, a talisman for [protection/healing of] legs and hips, available at the *nōkyō-sho"*), addressing contemporary health-wishes (see plate 50 on page 232).

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[384] With regard to bacteria, pb lead, pesticides, nitrates, nitrites, hardness/pH, chlorine.

[385] With regard to Natrium (Sodium), Calcium, Magnesium, Kalium (Potassium).

Plate 47: The three *izari-guruma* of temple # 22, Byōdō-ji

Plate 48: Close-up view of the right cart in the above photograph: Note the inscription of the inhabitant: "Tsutsui Yasunosuke [name] (circle: ?) Kōchi-ken, Tosa-gun, Kita-?-mura [address]. This and above photograph taken on 27 October 2010.

With regard to the healing powers of this ‘consecrated’ water, for example, nowadays, there are a couple from Nagoya and also from Kyūshū who come every year to fill up plastic containers with the water. There are also people who ask the temple to send them water by postal services, but they refuse to do this. Ms Taniguchi told me that the belief in the healing powers of the water and partaking of it with a thankful heart are important; for anybody who sees this ‘just’ as water, it will simply be that, and nothing more.

Furthermore, we went to the *hon-dō*, where she showed me a letter, dated October 2009, in which a Mr Nishikawa Yasuyuki states that he had been cured during one night from near blindness to extremely good vision at this temple. Here, water did not play a part in this, but the pilgrim, and also his eye doctor, believed that a certain deity whose image was kept at this temple’s *hon-dō* and the ‘special power’ and blessings of Kōbō Daishi were transferred to him:

> HŌKEN
> (similar to: “given in highest respect to the temple”)
>
> I will be 78 soon. 13 years ago, in August of 1996, I was nearly blind. But I gently swept the eyes of Binzuru-*sama*, while reciting the Hannya Shingyō, which I had just recently learned by heart, and praying earnestly. So my eyes were cured in one night, and I received an eye-power just as a new-born. I am so very happy. Even now my eye-sight is 2,00[386]. At that time, a famous doctor told me the following: “This is not the power of medicine. It must be the power of o-Daishi-*sama*’s *go-riyaku* and the *go-honzon* Yakushi Nyorai-*sama*’s *go-riyaku*”, and friends who had come with me to pray were also happy about that. This is something that I am thankful for from the bottom of my heart. Ever since, I come to pray here every month. 1 October 2009, Naruto-shi, Ōasa-cho, Ikenotani; Nishikawa Yasuyuki [address and name of the person].

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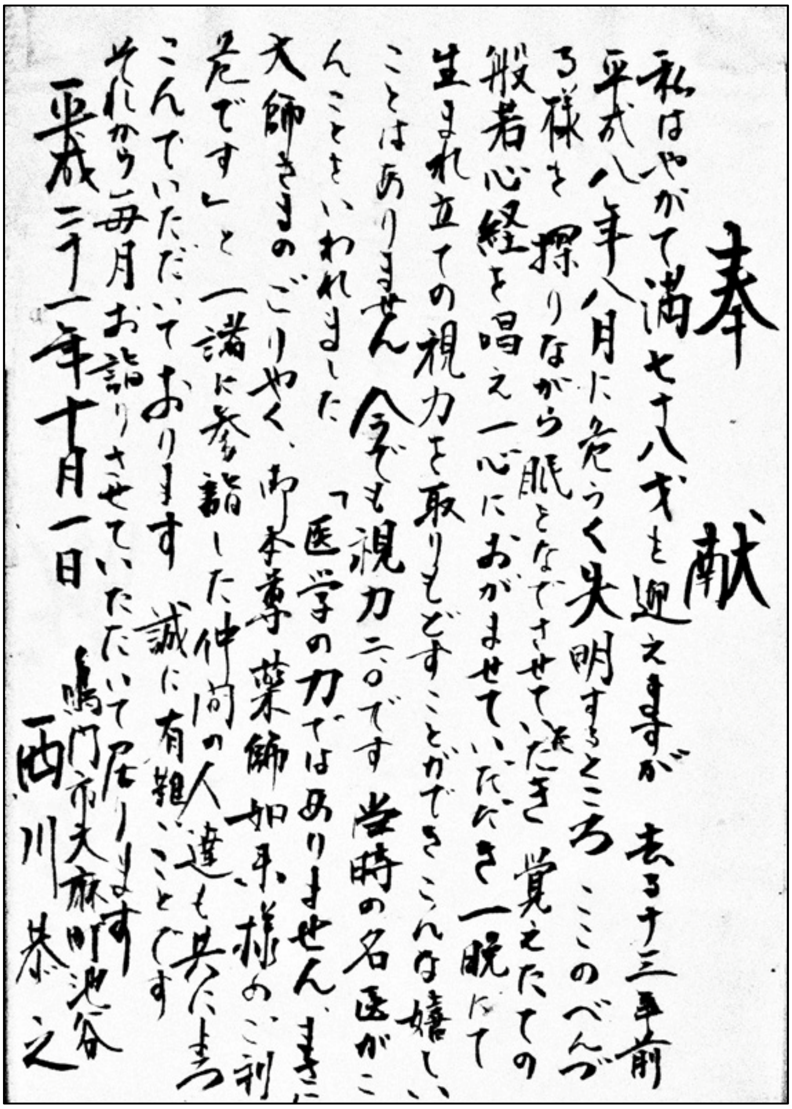
[386] Similar to an eye vision of 6/6 on the UK, or 20/20 on the America, scale.



奉献

私はやがて満七十八才を迎えますが　去る十三年前平成八年八月に危うく失明するところ　ここのべんづる様を探りながら眼となでさせていただき　覚えたての般若心経を唱え一心におがませていただき一晩にて生まれ立ての視力を取りもどすことができこんな嬉しいことはありません　今でも視力二・〇です　当時の名医がこんことをいわれました　「医学の力ではありません、まさに大師さまのごりやく、御本尊薬師如来様のご利益です」と　一緒に参詣した仲間の人達も共に喜こんでいただいております　誠に有難いことです
それから毎月お詣りさせていただいて居ります
鳴門市大麻町池谷
平成二十一年十月一日　西川恭之

Plate 49: The letter of Mr Nishikawa Yasuyuki; photograph taken by temple's permission at #22 on 27 October 2010

Naturally, I wanted to know more, in particular how this person saw the role that Kōbō Daishi played in this, and therefore I wanted to listen to what he would say about this. He lived near Temple #1, and accompanied by Rev. Kinoshita from there, I visited him[387], and I made a 45-minute long recording of his story. By this I mean that I interfered as little as possible, in fact, I did not ask any question or steer in any direction. Rev. Kinoshita however did ask for some clarifications and said repeatedly "うん、うん" (yes, yes), but these were in fact markers signalling him that she followed his discourse. My research here was to get the man's account of what he believed. I saw him as a hard-working farmer, genuine and honest, and had no reason

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[387] At his home on 23 May 2011.

to doubt his experience[388]. Important here for this thesis is how he understands, interprets and makes sense of this event. And for this I wanted to *listen* to his explanation, and find how *he* experienced this event. Other questions are: What role did his commitment to the pilgrimage and Kōbō Daishi play? How does he feel about it? Why does he think that his rituals and his pilgrimage ‘worked’, or showed an effect? In other words: how does he make sense of it all?

This interview can be found, in Japanese, here:

Original audio recording: http://www.ryofupussel.org/audio-1

In August of 1996, he cut grass one morning as volunteer work. During this, a little pebble hit him just between the eyebrows. This was two days before he had planned to visit temple #22. It was not painful, but he experienced a kind of ‘light’, but didn’t think much of it. But gradually his eye-sight decreased, and he could not see at all – all had become dark. So his wife drove him to an eye-doctor, whom he had known because his brother had previously undergone surgery for a cataract. This was Yamane Shinta[389], who had been at that time the director of the Tokushima Eye Doctors’ Association. He said that this was a serious case, and because the nerve had been injured, he could not give any injection or conduct any operation on it. It should be left undisturbed and in younger people’s cases, it would naturally heal within one and a half months, but because of his age, it would take two months. However, he told the doctor that he had planned to do the pilgrimage to honour Kōbō Daishi: “I’m going to visit and honour o-Daishi-san”[390]. He had previously done temples #1-#21, and with a group of 8 men (and their accompanying wives), of whom some, including him, had just retired from JA[391], they wanted to visit temples #22-#30 in one day, and the rest of the Shikoku pilgrimage in three more parts/days later. However, the doctor had told him not to do it, but to keep his body still, at home.

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[388] It sounded like the problem was not with his eyes but with his brain’s processing of visual input, which was temporarily damaged by the knock he received to his head from the pebble, then improved when it returned - perhaps aided by bodily responses to his state of mind when doing the ‘curing’ ritual.

[389] Professor Dr. Yamane Shinta Ophthalmological Clinic, Aizumi-chō, Okuno aza inui 2-1, Tel. (088) 692-8171, http://www.yamane-oc.or.jp

[390] お大師さんの詣りに行くんじゃけん。

[391] Japan Agricultural Cooperative Association.

They went nevertheless, and when they had arrived at temple #22, his wife had gone to the *nōkyō-sho* to receive the stamp, and the rest were praying at the temple, whereas he had stayed in the car in the parking lot. There, a relative of him came and told him that there is a certain deity, Binzuru-*sama*, whose image was at the temple's *hon-dō*, who would cure an illness, when an ill person touched a part of the image that corresponded to the site of the illness in his own body, and he or she recited the *Hannya Shingyō sūtra* and prayed for recovery from their illness. He refused at first, because he couldn't see anything, but then remembered that there was such deity whose image was enshrined also at temple #5, near where he had been born, so it seemed like a good idea. And so they went together, hand-in-hand, and he did accordingly. Mr Nishikawa told us that he, in his own personal understanding, saw Binzuru-*sama* as the younger brother of Kōbō Daishi[392]. They then returned to the car and drove to temple #23, and between #23 and #24, he started to be able to see a little bit of a brightness, so they were surprised. When they arrived at #26, and entered the temple's compound, he already could distinguish a little bit the houses nearby, so now all were quite surprised, and said to him: "You got blessed"[393]. After they had completed proceedings at temple #30, the last in their schedule, they drove home, and stopped by at a restaurant in Ikeda township, and all men ate *yakiniku*[394], whereas the wives ate *udon*[395], and, although he wanted to eat meat, he joined the women, because he felt this to be the right thing to do as he was on a pilgrimage. When they went into the restaurant, he could read all the large and medium-sized letters of a newspaper that was there, and now all were very surprised, again telling him that he had received blessings. He overslept somehow next morning, and when he opened his eyes, all was very bright, and he could even read the smallest letters of a pamphlet that was in the room. His wife drove him immediately to their doctor, and he said to them: "Nishikawa-san, it can definitely be said that this is not cured by medical power. You got eyes like a new-born"[396]. A check of his eye-sight revealed a

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[392] Binzuru (Piṇḍola-bhāradvāya) is regarded as one of the sixteen ancient *arhats*. Sir Charles Elitot explains that he came to be seen in Japan as a form of Yakushi: Binzuru "came to be regarded as the God of Medicine… Suppliants afflicted with disease rub the corresponding part of his image so that the limbs and features of the statue are often worn away" (137). Reginald Ray discusses him in the chapter 'A Criticized Saint: Piṇḍolabhāradvāya' (1999: 151-162).

[393] ご利益があった。

[394] Japanese grilled meat.

[395] Japanese thick wheat flour noodles.

[396] 西川さん、これは医学の力で絶対治った言うんでない。生まれた目になっております。

2.5, however, this could have been even higher, but there are no machines that can test further. The doctor said again: “Mr Nishida, you got eyes like that of a new-born. O-Daishi-san has healed you”[397]. The nurses were also very surprised. In fact, his eyes were 2.5, but the doctor could not write that into his medical report, because it would have been regarded as odd by other people, so he thought about writing 2.0, but in the end decided to go with 1.5, just to avoid any turmoil. He commented to Mr Nishida: “This can only be understood by people who got such blessings… Anyway, it is a fact that o-Daishi-*sama* cured your eyes to that of a new-born… You must immediately visit the temple [#22] to say ‘thank-you’ “[398] . At that time, Mr Nishida had ¥40,000-¥50,000 (around £330 as of June 2011, but note that this had higher value, 15 years ago) available, so he decided to visit the temple accordingly. But the doctor told him that such a large amount is not needed; he even told him: “If you don’t have money, I’ll lend you some”[399]. After the doctor’s visit, Mr Nishikawa went to a photo-studio to have his photograph taken, and the photographer, upon hearing this story, gave it to him free of charge. He then wrote a thank-you note and attached the photograph to it, visited the temple, offered thanks, and placed the letter in the main hall. The letter now (plate 52) is a copy which he had made himself of his original, as it had faded over time. After this, he received many telephone-calls from friends and relatives, asking about this story. He assured them that what they had heard was true and, that “there are such blessings”[400], pointing out that there were 15 witnesses – his group with whom he had conducted the pilgrimage. He subsequently goes to temple #22 once every month, to pray and give thanks for his healing, and has noted that many people put offertory coins into the box which is placed in front of this letter in the main hall, and he believes that this, too, extends blessings to him. He explained to Rev. Kinoshita and me: “I don’t know if these were blessings from Hotoke-san or o-Daishi-san, but Dr. Yamane said: ‘This is an illness, which is neither curable by medical power nor by my skills, but only by Kōbō Daishi-san’s blessings’”[401]. He then explained that in this pilgrimage, Yakushi Nyorai images are

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[397] 西川さん、あんたはな、生まれだちの目にな、なった。お大師さんが治してくれとる。

[398] これはそうゆうご利益あった人しか解からん。。。とにかく、お大師様が元の生まれた目に直してくれたんは事実なんやけん。。。すぐお礼詣りに行きなさい。

[399] お金がなかったら、私貸してあげます。

[400] ご利益があるんや。

[401] 仏さんのご利益か、お大師さんのご利益か、どっちか知らんだけんど、山根先生が言うんのは「弘法大師さんのご利益以外にね、私の力、医学の力ではない、到底治る

enshrined at both temples #22 and #23, but they differ: at #23 the *honzon* is for *yaku-yoke*: for praying during the *yakudoshi* years to ward off any evil happening during the calamity-years, whereas at #22 he is healing illnesses. There is another temple, he wasn't sure whether it is #78 or #79[402], where there is also a Yakushi-*honzon*, and this and #22 are the two in the pilgrimage that heal illnesses.

So, Mr Nishikawa, with the encouragement of his eye-doctor, experienced this event as a 'special' healing and curing by supernatural powers, received at temple #22, through the younger brother of, and indeed through, Kōbō Daishi. This was supported by the *honzon* Yakushi *Nyorai*, who is a healer of illnesses[403], especially at this temple, or rather: he (his 'presence') laid the ground on which Binzuru and Kōbō Daishi could 'work'. So, all of these three are seen to work together, or bind their powers together, Binzuru, Kōbō Daishi and Yakushi *Nyorai*. For Mr Nishikawa then, his healing absolutely happened, through the supernatural, foremost by virtue of commitment to the pilgrimage and Kōbō Daishi, and conducting rituals at the pilgrimage temple. In addition, he believes that by making public notice of his healing, and the subsequent donations made in front of his letter to this pilgrimage temple, these extend continuously further blessings to him.

Shikoku pilgrimage and death – contemporary pilgrims' understanding

Hoshino quotes a poem by Hanajo (?-?) from the Meiji period, relating to the death of pilgrims (1997: 272):

> By the side of the path
> The sad grave
> Of a pilgrim from Awa [Tokushima Prefecture].

The above sections have looked at the motives for doing the Shikoku pilgrimage. These included the seeking cures for illnesses and diseases. Some pilgrims expected to die on the way, and even now, examples will be given on page 243 of pilgrims that have passed away during the pilgrimage.

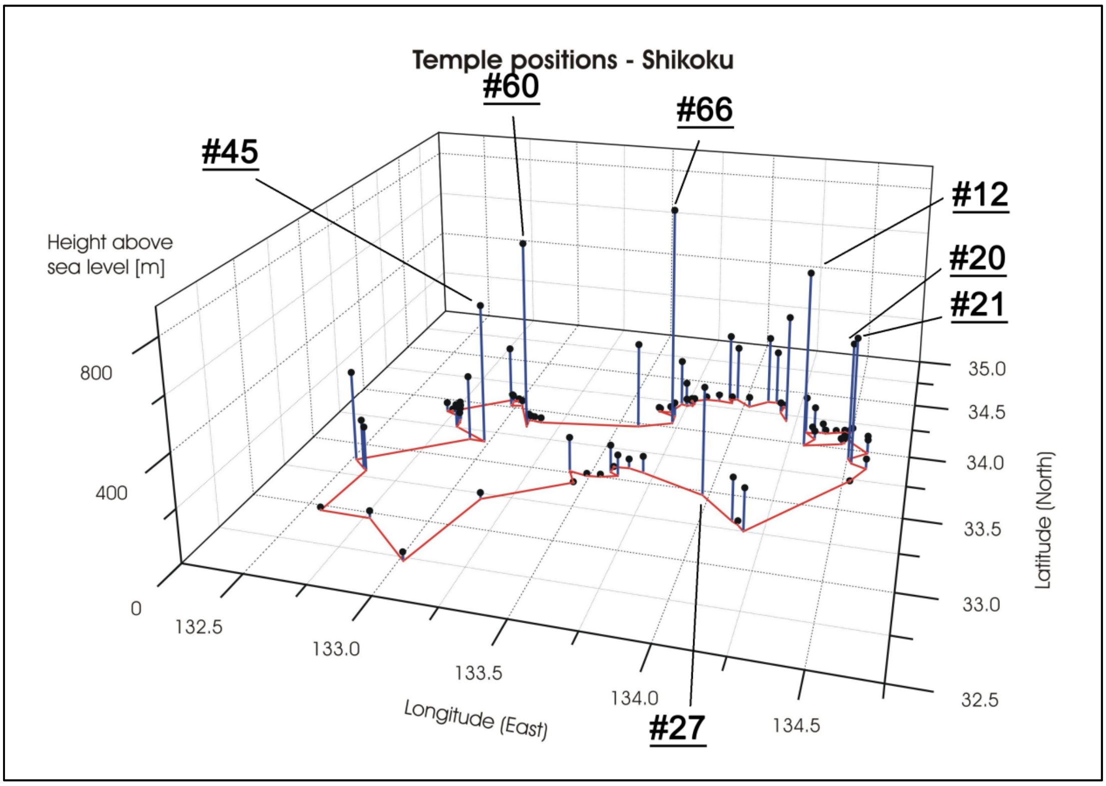
んような病気と違うんでよ」。

[402] Actually he meant #74, Kōyama-ji.

[403] As for the temple-image being seen as the deity that it depicts: this is how believers talk, which is a kind of faith statement.

Between 1771 and 1870, 156 pilgrims died in Shikoku, 68% men and 22% women could be identified (such as by their posthumous *dharma*-name), out of which five were probably monks (Asakawa Yasuhiro, 2008: 175). This section of the chapter will analyse how contemporary pilgrims understand the relation of Shikoku and death. A common motive for doing the pilgrimage is for it to be an *ancestor memorial*, and the various forms of memorialising dead relatives (not just of one's forebears), as well as the understanding of this of contemporary pilgrims, will be analysed. Death through hardship shall be looked at, whilst giving contemporary examples of experienced hardship, suicide, and traditions of death ceremonies that involve pilgrimage items.

Using my GPS data of the longitude, latitude, and altitude, which I measured in October 2007, the following graph was constructed, illustrating the altitude of the 88 pilgrimage temples, with the altitudes magnified by the factor 120 for easy recognition:



Graph 1: Height above sea level, longitude and latitude of the 88 pilgrimage temples, showing temples at high point

It can be seen that there are large differences in the altitude between one temple and the next, for example between #11 and #12. This shows that there are even nowadays hardships for those walking or cycling, due to many required climbs.

Long distances, too, can be exhausting for walkers. Man 2 of temple #38[404] told me that he needed to take it slow as otherwise his legs would fall apart[405]. He had walked eighty-some kilometres this time from #37, Iwamono-ji, to #38. At temple #75, man 1 particularly remembered a time when his legs were staggering when he was totally exhausted when he arrived at the hotel as he hadn't expected it to be so hard then[406]. He said that he was almost 'dead' (by exhaustion) and won't do it again, he's had enough[407]; #60, Yokomine-ji, was very hard to ascend to for him (650 metres above sea level[408]), and #12, Shōsan-ji, was the hardest (800 metres[409]). He had experienced 85mm of rain per hour in Kōchi Prefecture. At that time, he wanted to go home[410] (but then added that next time he will do the round by car). Woman 1 and man 2 also both had experienced hardship with rain when climbing up Yokomine-ji, and man 2 could not ascend to #73, Shussakai-ji (104 metres, as per my GPS data), and he also had got lost. Furthermore, he had trouble walking to temple #49, Jōdō-ji (59 metres, as per my GPS), because of exhaustion. But all of them agreed that they would have a great feeling of satisfaction once they completed the pilgrimage, as man 1 put it: "You'll have a great feeling of satisfaction. No doubt about that"[411].

Especially in past times, the pilgrimage was a hard undertaking, even harder than today, and those pilgrims had to at least consider the possibility that they might die on the way: "Some pilgrims fell ill during their long journey, while pilgrims who were sick even before they left home were not uncommon. On the way, some of these pilgrims died... and were given a grave, many of which can still be seen to this day near the pilgrimage temples" (Kouamé, 1997: 421f).

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[404] This and the following at temple #75 was in October 2010.

[405] もう足がだめになってしまう。

[406] でも、いっぺんね、本当にもうふらふらになりながら、あの、ホテルに入ったことあります。もうあそこはあんなにきついとは思わんかったっていうのがね。

[407] いや、もう二度と来ませんから、ありません。もう本当に死ぬ思いしてここまできたんだから、もう、もういいです。

[408] As per Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 328.

[409] As per Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 328.

[410] もうかえ、帰りたくてしょうがない。

[411] 達成感は出るでしょう、うん、間違いなくね、達成感はね。

Such numerous graves of unknown pilgrims can be found at several places, for example at temples #71, Iyadani-ji (a *nansho* and particularly connected to the dead; see also next page) or #2, Gokuraku-ji (one of the easiest temples to reach, though; being close to the port, it got a lot of people who came to Shikoku already sick and hoping for either a miracle cure or a death on the island, which was believed to lead to rebirth in the Pure Land, Gokuraku). The head priest of this temple, Rev. Aki Shōken, showed and explained to me[412] his temple's death registry (*kako-chō*; literally *past* [as opposite of 'present'] *note*). It starts in 1692 and goes until today, and lists the deaths of parishioners of temple #2 as well as pilgrims that had died here[413].

According to this *kako-chō*, the following data was gathered (please note that the term *henro* below refers to a pilgrim of the 88-temple pilgrimage)[414]:

1. On 11 May 1695, a pilgrim from Banshu no kuni (presently Hyogo Prefecture), Ono-machi, Kato Gōri (now "gun"= village) died here; she was the daughter of Mr Kajiya Jihei.
2. On 4 September 1695, a pilgrim from Kaga no Kuni (presently Ishikawa-Prefecture), Ishikawa-Gōri (village), by the family name Kakubei died here.
3. On 23 June 1697, a male pilgrim from Bingo no kuni (Hiroshima), died here, and he received the *kaimyō* "Jiryō Shinji"from the head abbot[415].
4. On 25 June 1697, a pilgrim from Awaji (Awaji island), Mihara-gun, Kamori-Mura, died here. She was the wife of Mr Junsaku, and cremated here at the temple.
5. On 16 August 1701, a pilgrim who received the *kaimyō* Daihoshi Shōdo upon his passing away here, was cremated and his ashes were sent back to the family at home.
6. 1804: a pilgrim from Bingo no kuni (presently Hiroshima Prefecture), Fukuyama-city, by the name of Matsube died here.
7. In 1843, Mr Denzo's wife, as a pilgrim, died here, in front of the *mon* (*gate*).

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[412] On 27 April 2009 at his temple.

[413] Reader also mentions this and gives three other examples (2005: 133).

[414] These were examples that were chosen by the head priest of #12 as in his eyes particularly illustrative. He could not show me all, as others had discriminating remarks that he preferred not to reveal. His words contained *sabetsu*, *discrimination*. As he felt uncomfortable talking about it, I did not ask for any further explanation.

[415] At that time, a *kaimyō* (*dharma* name; posthumous Buddhist name) was only bestowed upon nobles and aristocrats, including samurai, thus posthumously becoming ordained as a monk. 'Ordinary' people were not granted such a name.

The record illustrates how dead pilgrims were treated at this temple; in two cases, a posthumous *dharma* name was bestowed, in two cases, the dead bodies were cremated, and the ashes from one of these were even sent back home to the family, as a kind of *o-settai*-alms-giving. Temple #2 has the graves of such pilgrims as mentioned above as well as unknown pilgrims that had been buried there; these are located between the *hon-dō* and *daishi-dō* in the bamboo forest[416], the grave markers are weathered and some are severely damaged, so names cannot be identified anymore (see also Kouamé's quotation above). It cannot be established who had given them stones as grave markers, whether this was done by the temple or by friendly locals; in either case, this can be seen as a form of *o-settai,* selfless-alms-giving.

This shows that in past times, death while doing the pilgrimage was a real possibility, and the clothes still used by some pilgrims symbolically reconfirm this image. Statler comments: "Their white robes signify their willingness to meet death, should it overtake them along the way" (Ueda and Statler, 1983: minute 4). In fact, perilous places to test the pilgrim's commitment are located not only at high elevations, but are also usually difficult to access, for example, because of a steep and narrow path. There have traditionally been 9 such *nansho* places: #12 Shōsan-ji 800 metres above sea level, #20 Kakurin-ji 550 metres, #21 Tairyū-ji 800 metres, #27 Kōnomine-ji 500 metres, #45 Iwaya-ji 700 metres, #60 Yokomine-ji 750 metres, #65 Sankaku-ji 450 metres, and #66 Unpen-ji 911 metres (the highest of all pilgrimage temples)[417], and pilgrims could have died accessing these in past times. Over recent years, as roads and cable-cars have been built, most *nansho* are not so difficult to reach, however five places (#21, #45, #60, #65 and #71) are still regarded as a difficult 'hurdles' in the pilgrimage. Out of these perilous temples, #71, Iyadani-ji, has always been particularly associated, and therefore particularly visited, with ancestral memorial and the 'spirits of the dead' in mind. This temple is located in the middle of a mountain range, and, surrounded by old, tall trees, there are many aged tombs in the compound and along the dark pilgrimage path from this to the next temple. There are also old Buddha images carved into the rocks. Such temples which have a specially strong connection to the dead are called *haka-sho,* literally *grave-(holy)places.* This

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[416] Long 34.1564, lat. 134.4904, alt. 34m.

[417] Heights above sea level stated as found in: Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 328.

temple is also referred to in the section on cures of illnesses.

But even nowadays, death is being been experienced by pilgrims: according to Bishop Miyata, Mrs Taenaka Kamie from Los Angeles died while visiting the temple #52, Taisan-ji, in April 1974 (2006: 104), and in 1981 Mrs Sawada Shizue passed away in Kotohira-town, near temple #75, Zentsū-ji (it was likely significant for her to die near the 'birthplace' of Kōbō Daishi; the town is located between #75 and *bekkaku* #17, Kanno-ji, with the Mannō-ike-dam). Both were members of his pilgrimage groups that he had led (2006: 104, 156).

Even nowadays, a bite by the venomous Japanese *mamushi*-pit-viper-snake can be deadly. This species is found in Shikoku mainly in the mountains, and victims need to be treated in hospital within one hour, which makes it especially dangerous for individually travelling walkers[418]. Pilgrims are regularly warned about them:

Plate 50: The pilgrimage path (*henro michi)* leading to temple #27, Kōnomine-ji. On the left is a roadside Jizō *Bosatsu* statue, on the right side a direction-marker for walkers (906 m to go to reach the temple), and in the middle, a warning sign, in red letters, of the *mamushi*-snakes here. Photograph taken on 27 May 2011

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[418] In addition, cellphones might not work in the mountains by being out of range.

Bohner mentioned in his 1930 publicaction that he found that many did the pilgrimage in order to die peacefully (2010: 91) and for memorialising the dead (93); he also explained that people who had experienced a failure in life and would engage in the pilgrimage instead of committing suicide (96f.). However, temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji temple, located at Cape Ashizurimisaki in Kōchi prefecture, is a famous spot *for* suicide by jumping off there. The female walking pilgrim from Hokkaidō, whom I had talked to at the *shukubō* of this temple during dinner there, showed awareness about this.

How did this temple become associated with a spot for jumping off the cliffs? This temple is in possession of a plate that is said to have been given to it by Saga *Tennō* (785–842)**,** who is believed to have written it himself. It reads 補陀落東門, *fudaraku higashi* (or *tō)*[419] *mon, East Gate to Fudaraku*. In other words, the Emperor believed this spot to be an entrance to Fudaraku. Fudaraku (Skt. Potalaka) is the name of the paradise where Kannon *Bosatsu* (Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*) is believed to reside. Here is a connection to the Mikuro-dō-cave near temple #24, which is also commonly believed to be one of the entrances to the Pure Land. This important plate by the Emperor of Japan gives the temple #38 a special connection to the Kannon's Pure Land: with faith in Kannon, will or may enter *Fudaraku-jōdō,* Kannon's Pure Land, somewhere West 'over the ocean'. As such, it was not a spot for 'suicide' or jumping off the cliffs in earlier times, but of ascetics being pushed out to sea in boats to 'meet' Kannon; while they were going to their deaths, it was not as 'suicide' but as a process of 'going to meet Kannon' (which in effect necessitated severing connections with this world). The origin of Ashizuri as a suicide spot date to Tamiya's story, as will be explained on the next page.

Plate 54 on the next page is the Edō-Period copy of this Fudaraku-plate by Saga *Tennō*, hung up in the *hon-dō* of temple #38. It is not shown to the public, but the head priest, Rev. Nagasaki Shōkyō, opened the main hall for me on 7 December 2009 and permitted me to photograph it. He told me that he had not seen the Emperor Saga original, and that this copy used to hang where the original had supposedly been hung up before, which is at the entrance gate (where a copy of this copy is presently hung up).

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[419] 東 could either be read as *higashi* or as *tō*: the meaning is the same.

Plate 51: The Edō-Period copy of the Fudaraku-Entrance-plate by Saga *Tennō*, hung up in the *hon-dō* of temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji; photograph taken by special permission on 7 December 2009

Making this place famous as a location for suicides is Mr Tamiya Torahiko, who published a 40-page short novel *Ashizurimisaki* (Cape Ashizuri) in 1949. In it, writing in the first person, he tells about when the protagonist was 23 years old, he wished to commit suicide, as he had a troubled relationship with his father, To do so, he travelled to this Cape on Shikoku Island to jump into the waves of the Pacific Ocean. However, on that day it was raining hard, and he postponed it, staying at a *ryokan* (Japanese Inn). There he met not only the daughter of the owner, but also pilgrims, (visiting temple #38) with whom he talked, and consequently changed his mind, returning to Tokyo. The daughter would later come to Tokyo, but die there. The author knew these matters, because, although he was born and raised in Tokyo, his parents were natives of Kōchi[420]. This novel also became a movie in 18 May 1954 (date of release), under the same title, directed by Yoshimura Kōsaburo, spreading the word of Ashizurimisaki as a suicide spot even further.

When I stayed at the *shukubō* of temple #38 on 22 April 2009 and inquired about the number of people who commit suicide each year, I was informed by the head priest that nobody would tell me this as it is a matter of "losing face" for this part of Shikoku that this is a suicide-place, so it is simply not talked about**.** So, now there is no positively-viewed link between this suicide-place and the temple or the pilgrimage, and the temple seeks to dissociate itself from any possible link. I could not go on any further regarding this topic. But then, I had a further chance to talk with him about the connection of the temple and the suicide-spot, when I stayed there again between 6 and 7 December 2009. Although the suicide-spot is close to the temple, it does not take any steps to try to reduce these, or to try to dissuade people from killing themselves there (for example, a notice near the spot with a phone to the temple). He told me that making any public notice there marking this to be a suicide-spot could make people *get* the idea of killing themselves, and thus the temple could indirectly play a role in their suicide. He refused to have any involvement in any of this, and the temple simply accepts the nearby suicides as a matter of fact. It seems they have something to learn from other countries, which do seek to prevent suicides, for example by having the phone number of the 'Samaritans' at common suicide spots.

Wanting to know the number of suicides there each year, I went to the *Ashizurimisaki koban* (Ashizurimisaki small neighbourhood police station) next to the temple, which is responsible for dealing with the aftermaths of these suicides, and was told there on 23 April 2009 by its police officer-in-residence, Mr Yokoyama, that not only is he the person responsible for fishing out the dead bodies (so he knows the number of suicides first-hand), but also that after the book by Tamiya, there was an increase in suicides, with about 40 being the yearly average; usually the bodies get swept on-land at a spot near the temple #38 due to the ocean stream, for him to pick up, so these numbers are probably close to the true amount of suicides; he also told me that

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[420] He later committed suicide when he was 77 years old, after a head stroke which had left him unable to continue writing, by jumping from the 11th floor of his apartment in Tokyo, rather than jumping into the ocean near pilgrimage temple #38, as contemplated in his novel.

the number has decreased, and stood at 5 in 2008.


Plate 52: The suicide-spot of temple #38; photograph taken 6 December 2009

The above section explained the connection of the Shikoku pilgrimage and ‘death’, and in the following, the association of Shikoku and ‘the dead’, with the dead as still somehow living and contactable, will be analysed.

In August 1996, Ms Bandō Masako, herself a native of Shikoku, published her horror-novel, entitled *Shikoku*. The island’s name is usually written with the following two kanji: 四国, 四 meaning *four* and 国 meaning *country*; however her book-title, although with the same reading, uses 死 meaning *death* and 国 meaning *country*. Thus the *four countries* become the *death country*. In other words, this is a play with meaning by using different *kanji* with the same reading. This notion plays on an old punning of the name Shikoku by pilgrims in Tokugawa Japan (see Reader 2005: 63-64, Hoshino 2001: 110). Bandō’s book became a hit, and so Tōhō film productions in Tokyo made a movie out of this by the same title, which was released on 23 January 1999 in the movie theatres, the next year on DVD. The story relates to the pilgrimage and pilgrims on Shikoku, with the mother of a dead child doing the pilgrimage 16 times – the age at which her daughter had died – anti-clockwise, and plays – including the dead – in particular on Mount Ishizuchi-zan (which is also traditionally called *rei-zan*, *Ghost Mountain* by the people of Shikoku), and its temples #34, Tanema-ji (min. ~24 in the movie), and #45, Iwaya-ji (min. ~33). At the latter, Kōbō Daishi is believed to have undergone ascetic practice, inside the cave *Anazenjō*; I have ascended to this cave[421], and indeed this was quite a frightening experience, at least for me.

Ms Itawaki, sister of the head priest of temple #55, Nankō-bō, explained this to me as follows:

> When Japanese pass away, their souls go and stay in high mountains such as Kōya-san, Mt. Ishizuchi and Mt. Tsurugi in Shikoku. This idea is influenced from Shinto, where mountains themselves are considered residing places of *kami*. So, Japanese respect and revere and give much attention to nature: mountains, the ocean, rivers and land. In Japanese Buddhism, there is a connection to Japan's ancient mountain worship (*shugen-dō*), and Esoteric Buddhism (Mikkyō: Shingon and Tendai) considers mountains to be "visual Mandalas", which represent the Buddhist universe and are a symbol of fusion and unity, expressing that the universe and people are fundamentally linked, so many Buddhist monks undergo training in the mountains. In my opinion, the idea that we can meet the dead in Shikoku is a fusion of Shinto, Buddhism and Japan's ancient mountain worship because it is believed that some souls might stay somewhere in Shikoku after they die. Also, I guess that a person who lost a loved one hopes to meet him/her after his/her death, so they believe they can meet the well-loved in Shikoku.[422]

A common motive for doing the pilgrimage is, as was shown above, *kuyō*. The term *kuyō* refers to memorialising the dead, usually relatives whetehr or not they are literally 'ancestors'[423], thus *honouring* them. So, in a Japanese sense, for example, a dead daughter can become a protecting 'ancestor'. As Reader explains:

> Memorialising the dead through extended rituals that transform the spirit of the deceased into an ancestor who is venerated as a protector of the family is important in Japan, and it features [as] a common motivation amongst pilgrims on Shikoku and elsewhere (2005: 80).

Moreover, "few practices are as important in Japan as activities related to the ancestors and to rituals and practices centred on the deceased…" (Reader and

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[421] On 19 March 2007 and 18 October 2007. Lat. 33.659, long. 132.9812.

[422] Personal e-mail communication, 31 May 2011, in English.

[423] In normal English usage, an 'ancestor' is only someone that one of the parents have descended from.

Tanabe, 1998: 15). The memorialised dead may also be non-relatives. Koll describes his astonishment when he saw an *osame-fuda* of a pilgrim who had completed the pilgrimage 385 times ever since the end of the Second World War, in respectful memory of his fallen comrades (FAZ 2007: page R3).

Mendel also found pilgrims whose reason for doing the pilgrimage was because the mother had died, and in another instance someone's wife had died, so this pilgrim wished to make the pilgrimage until he died, too. (2006: movie, throughout).

Some more examples are as follows: On 17 January 1995, the *Hanshindaishinsai,* the *Great Hanshin Earthquake* hit the Kansai-Shikoku area of Japan with a magnitude of 6.8 on the Richter-scale: 5,348 people died, 33,222 were injured, 2 missing, and 109,464 households were destroyed (Mainichi Mukku, 1995: 1). Nearly one year later, on 19 January 1996, the Asahi Newspaper published an article *Henro tabi musuko ni aeta, I met my son during the henro-pilgrimage*, in which it described two cases of death being associated with the Shikoku pilgrimage, in relation to this earthquake. Below is a summary of the newspaper article:

Case 1 (page 34, lines 1-70):

> The parents Shigematsu Yasumasa (father, 52 years old at the time) and Keiko (mother, 49) of Hiroshima-Prefecture, Fukuyama-city, lost their son (20) in the earthquake: he had been a student and in the university dormitory, which had collapsed. They had been shown their son's body, with the eyes and mouth open as if he had been screaming in shock. The mother then suggested to go on the pilgrimage to "meet the son". They started in summer 1995, in parts during their free time, circulated clockwise, by car, as the father was still working. Their mantra was not "*Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō*" but "*namu shinsai seirei*", "*Namu* Earthquake (*shinsai*) Soul (*seirei*)". Whilst circling Shikoku, they said that they felt somehow their son was alive. This is reflected in the title of the article. One night, in the middle of September during the pilgrimage, the father had a dream about his son, when they stayed near Katsurahama (Kōchi) on the pilgrimage route: he saw his son as a child, alive, but with the same scratches and scars and bruises as the dead body had shown, but with a quiet/calm face. The father told his small son to be careful with the

> injuries, and when he wanted to stretch out his hand to help him, the son jumped into his heart. So he was happy about this dream, and thus he had met his son again. He told his wife about this dream, when he woke up. The night before they completed the pilgrimage at #88, Okubo-ji on 25 December 1996, the mother dreamt about her son, too: she saw him as a sleeping baby, whom she carried. The wife told the reporter "*mata Shikoku ni aruite musuko ni aitai*" "We wish to walk around Shikoku again to meet our son". The article then goes on, informing the reader that Kōbō Daishi is said have established this pilgrimage, which is about 1,450 km long, and takes 50 days when walking, and 10 days by car.

Two quotations of a part of the article shall illustrate the connection between death and Shikoku, in particular the clothes and death:

> "*ohenrotachi wa sono michi o, shi o imi suru shiro shōzoku de aruku*" "the pilgrims walk with the white clothes which symbolize death" (lines 71f.), as well as Shikoku=Death country: "*Shikoku wa shi no kuni ni tsujiteriru*" "It is understood that Shikoku is Death Country" (lines 75f).

Case 2 (page 34, lines 77-109):

> Mr Kuwano Shōji (75 years old) of Kobe City, Nagata Ward, lost his wife Tsumiko in this earthquake. In 1994 they both had done the pilgrimage. On the morning of the earthquake, they had both got up at 5:30, and she had gone downstairs to recite some *sūtra* to their ancestors, then, at 5:46 the earthquake hit, and the house broke partially. He could not see her from the smoky stairway, as it was already burning, but heard her voice. However, due to the flames and the broken parts of the structure, he could not reach her to help her; his neighbours held him back, as it was too dangerous, and she called him with the words: "*Anta mō ii*" akin to "you, it's alright" (line 101); these were her last words, then she burnt to death. He subsequently built a contemporary house, and continued the shop that they had run, put a picture of his wife in white *henro* clothes in the shop on the first floor, and prayed and talked to her every day in front of the picture. As he wants to hear the last words of his wife again, and meet her again, he wishes to go on the pilgrimage again, carrying her *ihai* (black memorial name plate) when spring has come[424].

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[424] Mainichi Shimbun includes a photograph from around 1956 from a documentary-series

These cases illustrate the very real connection that Japanese people, at least those of the Kansai area, make between the dead and Shikoku and in particular white clothes as well as meeting the deceased on the pilgrimage way as in the case of Mr and Mrs Shigematsu; or, as in the case of Mr Kuwano, doing the pilgrimage with the memorial plate of a deceased family member, thus "*dōgyō ninin*", means indeed "two are walking together".

"Memorialising the dead" was a very common motive when I talked to pilgrims. Whether the mother circumambulates the island in memory of her dead daughter (as in the novel and movie *Shikoku*), or whether it is the wish to "meet the dead boy" as in the newspaper article, or by carrying the memorial tablet of the deceased wife once more around the island in the same article, memorialising the dead family members is one way of dealing with the grief of the loss of a dear one. Two examples of pilgrims whom I talked to shall further illustrate this:

The N. family from Ehime-Prefecture, Uwajima-city (see page 78): The mother and husband planned to do the pilgrimage upon his retirement, but unfortunately he died, just when he got retired, before they could commence it. So she is doing it now, *kugiri-uchi* (in parts), clock-wise, with a bus-tour, together with the grandmother and grandfather and, recently, her daughter, memorialising her deceased husband.

A male pilgrim, 70 years old, who is walking the pilgrimage in one piece, clock-wise, in order to honour his deceased wife, then 68 before she died a short while ago, in his words "*dōgyō ninin* with [wife's name, withheld]". This is similar to the above-mentioned case of Mr Kuwano.

It is interesting that in these cases, the 'two' are not (only) the pilgrim and Kōbō Daishi, but the pilgrim and a dead relative, with, as I understand it, Kōbō Daishi seen as accompanying the dead relative and present pilgrim, watching 'over them' (perhaps from a border between this world and the other), and aiding communication of the living with the dead.

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about the pilgrimage, depicting a pilgrim, probably in his 60s, carrying the *ihai* of his son (2002: 170).

And for pilgrims, there is an understanding that it is important to collect the seals in the *nōkyō-chō* so that these can be burnt together with their body when they die, as the following shows. Accordingly, the Ozakis told me that the following is their custom regarding the pilgrimage utensils and death:

> SON：So, in the past, when the owner of these books died, they would put the items in the coffin including the cloth of *dōgyō-ninin* and the *tsue*[425]. Everything. So the books were buried[426] with the deceased owner.
> ME：You don't do that anymore?
> ELDERLY MAN：Yes, we still do.
> SON：We do, but for dad, after he dies…,
> ELDERLY MAN：Take all of the books.
> ME：All of them?
> SON：Not all of them. We'd…, you know…We still do that today[427].

As the Ozaki-grandfather had stated, the more often one does the pilgrimage and consequently the more one collects the seals, the blessings[428] thus received increase, too, which could relate to a better development of the deceased after death. Similarly, the head priest of temple #2, Gokuraku-ji, would, on all four occasions that I stayed there, refer in his morning sermon to pilgrims to the *maṇḍala*s in the *hon-dō*, which show Gokuraku, the Pure Land of Amida, where, according to him, pilgrims would be reborn due to the merit gained through doing this pilgrimage[429].

Conclusion

This part first analysed statistical data from extensive fieldwork. *Genze-riyaku*, *kuyō*,

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[425] He actually used the term *bō*, 棒, stick.

[426] 葬る *hōmuru*, does mean buried (however, after cremation).

[427] SON：で、昔はこれを、あの、ま、この本人が死んだら、あのお棺の中へ、その白衣の同行二人と棒、まあ、全部ですわね、一式。で、これも入れて、おは、あ、一緒に、ま、ほうむりよったがですわ。
ME：それは今はもうしないんですか。
ELDERLY MAN：いや、今まだ。
SON：今も、んで、親父らは死んだら、この親父の。
ELDERLY MAN：帳面だけもうて。
ME：ぜ、全部？
SON：いや、全部やなしに、いったんはど、本人の。。。それはぼく今でも。

[428] 尊さ, *tōtosa*.

[429] This is not a Jōdo-temple, even though it has the *honzon* Amida *Nyorai* (Amitābha *Tathāgata*) enshrined. It belongs to the Koyasan Branch of Kogi (Orthodox) Shingon.

death and the dead, praying for higher powers to cure the illnesses and diseases of oneself or one's living relatives, such as Hansen's disease or illnesses of the eyes, as well as seeking health through drinking water seen as consecrated by Kōbō Daishi, were all reoccurring motives for doing the pilgrimage. Souvenir-items introduced in this chapter gave an insight into how some contemporary pilgrims relate to the pilgrimage and to Kōbō Daishi, who was depicted on most of these. Often portrayed in a colourful way, Kōbō Daishi becomes very accessible. Born human, he is believed by many to have transcended 'ordinary' death. He seems to be *omnipresent*, protecting, guiding, helping, performing miracles and, because of this accessibility, he can easily be prayed to for fulfilment of wishes (of which many examples were given in this chapter by my informants). It became clear that pilgrims pray at the *hon-dō* to the *honzon* and ask for their wishes to be fulfilled, and do the same at the *daishi-dō*: both, the Buddhist deity (as a more 'distanced' deity) and Kōbō Daishi (as 'closer' to human beings), peacefully co-exist side by side in the same compounds and complement each other, or 'combine' their powers. My informants believed that Kōbō Daishi is 'blessing' their life, including arranging for good things to happen to them, and longevity. Many more examples were given in this chapter, such as the pilgrim who had had a stroke and regarded his having become better as absolute proof of the healing-power of Kōbō Daishi. Well-known for curing illnesses are several temples, the majority of which are located in Tokushima, the common start of the pilgrimage, so as to immediately start giving curing-power, and to strengthen people for the rest of the pilgrimage. Health-preserving or -restoring through 'consecrated' water, blessed through Kōbō Daishi, is a dominant theme in beliefs about curing illnesses in the Shikoku pilgrimage, and pilgrims were talked to about how they understand this. As an in-depth example, the situation at temple #22 was analysed, to understand what role Kōbō Daishi has in this, and in particular that of 'faith' in healing. Several important artefacts in the temple's possession were shown to me by the head priest's family, and a man was introduced to me who had been 'healed' there, whom I subsequently interviewed. Having planned to start the pilgrimage to honour Kōbō Daishi on the next day, that man had received a knock to his head from a pebble, which probably resulted in a temporary damage of his brain's processing of visual input, leaving him unable to see. However, his condition improved, once they had started the pilgrimage, by doing the ritual involving touching the eyes of the Binzuru image, and he and his doctor understood that this healing could not have been curable by medical power, but only through Kōbō Daishi. This healing can be seen as having been supported by the 'presence' of the *honzon* Yakushi *Nyorai*, who is also regarded as a healer of illnesses (again, there is a link to chapter 4,which explained that pilgrims see the statue of the deity as the deity itself), whose power lay the ground on which Binzuru and Kōbō Daishi could 'work'. So, all of these three are seen to work together, or bind their powers together, Binzuru (whom the man saw, in his own peculiar understanding, as a family member of Kōbō Daishi), Kōbō Daishi himself and Yakushi *Nyorai*. For the healed man, this healing happened through the supernatural, by virtue of doing the pilgrimage and Kōbō Daishi's help, and conducting rituals at the pilgrimage temple. Furthermore, he believed that by making public notice of his healing in a letter posted at the temple's main hall, and the subsequent donations made to this pilgrimage temple by those who have read it, this extend continuously further blessings to him.

This chapter has shown that the Shikoku Pilgrimage is done for a wide spectrum of motives and reasons, for others and for oneself. The aim of gaining *genze-riyaku*-related, this-worldly benefits as part of general Japanese religiosity, are clearly central motives, besides memorialising the dead. Indeed, the object of motives or desires ranged from happiness, assurances about the future, success, and lives that can be lived free from problems and dangers. And wishes such as receiving children, or finding a partner in order to get married, or finding a job, are a mirror of how contemporary pilgrims see their obligations and responsibilities in society. In this 'this-worldly'-emphasis, Shinto and Buddhism, as was analysed in a previous chapter, have common ground to peacefully co-exist side by side.

Having looked at the motives for doing the Shikoku pilgrimage, this chapter turned to the related topic of the pilgrimage and death, and linked ideas from Shinto and mountain ascetism. It was found that some pilgrims believe that when a person passes away, their soul goes and stays in high mountains in Shikoku such as Mt. Ishizuchi and Mt. Tsurugi, which are considered residing places of *kami*. Many examples of *kuyō* in the pilgrimage were analysed in this chapter, and it became clear that Kōbō Daishi is seen as accompanying the dead relative as well as present pilgrim, 'watching over them', and aiding communication of the living with the dead.

Drawing on the chapter on pilgrimage items and related ritual, the *nōkyō-chō* was further analysed here, as informants explained a commonly held view by pilgrims is that it is important to collect the seals of the pilgrimage in this booklet, which always has Kōbō Daishi depicted in its first page, so that it can be burnt together with the deceased pilgrim, and the more often one does the pilgrimage and consequently the more one collects the seals, the merit gained and blessings received increase, too, and all of this relates to a better 'development' of the deceased after death.

This and chapter 4 have analysed the various Japanese ideas about what happens when one dies, and how one might be able to help the dead. This chapter also reflected, in the context of the range of motives for doing the pilgrimage, on the issue of the pilgrimage as being seen to bring both this-worldly benefits and benefits to the already dead, and for oneself when one dies, and how these matters relate in particular to Kōbō Daishi.

The concept of *o-settai* was briefly mentioned at the end of this chapter, and this will be taken up in the next chapter. What, then, are the contemporary understandings of selfless giving to pilgrims? And how do pilgrims, who receive these, understand this support?

Chapter 7: Those who support pilgrims, and their motives

Introduction

Selfless alms-giving to pilgrims has a strong tradition in Shikoku. This can be done in groups as well as individually. The question here is how those who support pilgrims understand this. For example, is there some karmic benefit? What other benefits could there be? Are there certain traditions involved? And is there a connection to Kōbō Daishi, and the tales surrounding him, such as on Emon Saburō and others, which had been looked at already in the thesis? How does alms-giving serve to build ties between the participants as well as reciprocal links with the pilgrims? The various participants shall be looked at, which are the temples, private people's *o-settai*, and the *sendatsu* guides who support pilgrims. How do the *sendatsu* themselves understand their appointment as *sendatsu*, and how do pilgrims see them? Fieldwork will help in explaining the meaning that *o-settai* has for all of these participants, by looking at the various acts of charitable giving, the reasons behind this, and the understanding of contemporary pilgrims of these.

Acts of charitable giving

Charitable giving is very much part of traditional Buddhist activity in Asia (Harvey, 1990: 229-231). Regarding the contemporary acts of charitable giving experienced in the Shikoku pilgimage, the wife pilgrim whom I had met at the *shukubō* of temple #38 on October 2010, who was from Hokkaidō, commented that "the people of Shikoku really take care of us…"[430]

Kouamé (2001) showed in her research, that in the past there has been ample control of the pilgrims, especially in Tosa (Kōchi), for example through issuing travel permits, defining and enforcing the time spent in a particular Province, assigning travel paths for pilgrims which must not be left, but also providing for acts of charity such as caring for the sick and dead. David Moreton added that there were reasons why the governments did not take a more forceful stance:

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[430] 四国の方にやっぱりね。こうお世話になって。。。

> The authorities may have been fearful of people's reactions if prohibited from being able to travel… The other reason was based on fear because the authorities held some degree of belief in the spiritual belief of 'karmic retribution'… the Shikoku pilgrimage and its strong ties to Kōbō Daishi demonstrate the official acceptance of prevalent beliefs (2001: 23f.).

In the Shikoku pilgrimage context, the tale of Emon Saburō could be seen as the first example of showing that there is believed to be a moral obligation for charitable giving: one should be friendly to the o-Daishi or the pilgrim following in his footsteps, and give charity, or else ill-fortune (bad *karma*) would happen, as all eight sons of Emon Saburō died when he refused to give Kōbō Daishi an offering. So, it is not just that giving *o-settai* generates good *karma* and consequent benefits (and perhaps also blessings from Buddhas etc. and ancestors), but that not doing so brings harm, whether from the bad *karma* of being stingy and perhaps also other ideas too, of direct harm from various spiritual beings.

Moreton furthers the idea of karmic benefit by quoting Shimazaki Tanaka Hiroshi (in his unpublished PhD thesis, 1975: 49): the act of charitable giving, called *o-settai* in Shikoku pilgrimage terms, and *o-fuse* in general Japanese Buddhist terms "refers to the practice of giving goods, money and accommodations to pilgrims in the belief that such actions will gain merit for the donor" [431, 432](Moreton, 2001: 26).

Kihara states that according to her research, receiving *o-settai* is not limited to Japanese pilgrims: 100% of the foreign pilgrims interviewed by her had indeed received *o-settai*. I can personally confirm that neither the nationality, nor gender or age of the pilgrim make any difference in receiving it. Nor does the mode of transportation, as will be explained further below.

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[431] For an in-depth analysis of the linguistic meaning of *o-settai* see Moreton, 2001: 24.

[432] Charitable giving, there called *o-fuse*, is found in other pilgrimages in Japan, too, such as the Ise or Saikoku pilgrimages.

Temples' *o-settai*

***Shukubō* (*ekiroji*)**[433]

As early as in 1598, Hachisuka Iemasu (1558-1638), the Lord of Awa (Tokushima), was the first to establish – and financially support – temples in his domain where pilgrims – and other travellers – could receive free accommodation and meals. These were eight temples, labelled *ekiroji, road-side-temples* (Moreton, 2001: 45). This could possibly have been influenced by the concept of karmic benefit, but might have also served as a tool to control the pilgrims as well as making the pilgrimage safe so as to prevent disturbances between locals and pilgrims. Out of these, only temple #6 is included in the pilgrimage now, and temple accommodation facilities are called *shukubō*, which, as Reader explains, evolved during the 1920s (2005: 144). Unlike the *ekiroji*, these are no longer run as charities; however, they deliberately charge less[434] than most of the purely commercial premises, so there is still a semi-charitable aspect[435]. All *shukubō* are open exclusively to pilgrims, and not other travellers.

In the post-war development of the pilgrimage, it is also fair to assume that because pilgrims could now travel faster, by using the new national roads, many *shukubō* had a hard time to survive, and that more and more ceased to exist, because pilgrims would simply drive past them[436].

I was told something similar when I talked with the sister of the head priest of #55, Nankō-bō[437], and also the wife of the head priest of temple # 56, Taisan-ji[438], with

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[433] See also plate 2 on page 13.

[434] They all charge the nominal fee of ¥5,800 (around £45 per person per night as of June 2011) for accommodation and two meals. This fee is decided by the Reijōkai (some *shukubō* charge a slightly higher amount, though, for example, #6, Anraku-ji: ¥6,500, as of 2011). Also, at all *shukubō*, independently operating *sendatsu*, who lead their own group, are charged only ¥2,000 (around £15) for the meals, so accommodation is free.

[435] Of course, there is also the issue of the extent to which the pilgrimage temples are as much businesses as religious institutions.

[436] And some, at strategically good locations, have had more visitors, due to the increasing number of pilgrims coming due to better roads and transport, in particular *shukubō* of temples #2, #6, #19, and #58, who also had the financial means to make their accommodation more 'attractive', such as costly drilling for natural hot water with fine mineral content for their *onsen*-bath at #2, #6 and #58.

[437] On 31 October 2010.

[438] On 18 October 2007.

regard to this. They both had run a *shukubō*, but pilgrims would complain that it was not comfortable enough, in particular the large two rooms where pilgrims would sleep together (one room for male and one for female pilgrims), also the food was regarded as too simple, as convenience stores nearby would offer better foodstuffs, so cheap so-called ‘business hotels’ would offer a more comfortable stay for the pilgrims (or temple #58 with their natural hot spring bath). In addition, over the last decade or two, the governmental regulations regarding sanitary matters became more restrictive, for example, requiring a kitchen as well as separate toilets and bathing facilities for men and women (which they did not have). As they could not comply with these, and only proper hotels and restaurants could, so many *yado* (simple and cheap private accommodations for pilgrims) and *shukubō* had to close down. I was told something similar when I called up the *shukubō* of temple #17, Ido-ji[439], for a similar inquiry: they closed it in 2004 for the same reasons. So did the family member of the head priest, Rev. Nakatsu Kimio, who was working at the *nōkyō-sho* of temple #20, Kakurin-ji[440], when I inquired about the large but empty *shukubō*-building in front of their office.

Indeed, the walking pilgrim at the *shukubō* of temple #75, told me[441] that he sometimes stayed at business hotels, so that he could watch TV and relax there, and it also helped him against getting bored; he either ate good food at the hotel or, for example, at a sushi restaurant close-by, or bought a *bentō*-box at a convenience store.

Therefore, the number of *shukubō* has decreased from 63 in around 1973, to 20 in 2006, and to 16 in 2011: Mori listed, as of the first half of the 70s, 63 temples as running a *shukubō*[442] (Mori, 2005: 168). In 2006, the Reijōkai listed *shukubō* at 20 temples[443] (2006: 150-325), and, according to a 2011-publication of theirs, entitled *Shukubō ni tomarō* (‘Let’s stay at a *shukubō*’), received on 27 May 2011 at the

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[439] On 3 July 2009.

[440] On 22 May 2011.

[441] On 24 October 2010.

[442] #1, #2, #3, #5, #6, #7, #8, #11, #12, #13, #17, #18, #19, #20, #21, #22, #23, #24, #25, #26, #29, #30, #31, #32, #33, #34, #35, #36, #37, #38, #39, #40, #41, #43, #44, #45, #51, #52, #53, #55, #56, #57, #58, #59, #61, #62, #63, #64, #65, #66, #67, #68, #69, #71, #72, #75, #76, #80, #81, #83, #86, #87, #88.

[443] #2, #6, #7, #12, #13, #19, #23, #24, #26, #37, #39, #40, #43, #44, #56, #58, #61, #75, #81, #83.

nōkyō-sho of temple #26, Kongōchō-ji, only 16 temples now run a *shukubō*[444].

Also, there were corresponding changes in the kinds of accommodation that people looked for and expected, so that the more traditional forms of accommodation have lost out to more modern (and more commercial) ones, such as #7, Jūraku-ji (which built a barrier-free lodging with elevator for elderly or disabled pilgrims), #24, Hotsumisaki-ji, (which has become a youth-hostel with an excellent view of the pacific), #58, Senyū-ji (which is very modern, and includes a Karate-*dōjō* – the head priest is a high-ranking instructor – and a fully-equipped pottery for locals and pilgrims to use), or #75, Zentsū-ji (also equipped with elevators; and pilgrims do not have to sit on the floor – which can be undesirable for some – , but eat, using chairs and tables; vending machines for beer, rice wine, coffee and other beverages are located inside the dining room and next to the elevators). Thus, they successfully respond to modern needs of contemporary pilgrims.

Tsuyado* and *daishi-dō

Accommodation as *o-settai* has also been in existence since the establishment of the *ekiroji* in the so-called *tsuyado*, *overnight-building*, a simple building belonging to a temple, where the pilgrim could stay free of charge. Although they run a *shukubō*, six temples also offer free accommodation for pilgrims who cannot spend such an amount of money; however, meals, toilets and bath are not included in the *tsuyado*. They are strictly a place to rest and sleep. It is in the spirit of *o-settai* that these temples would offer free charitable hospitality, even those who also run a money-charging *shukubō*[445]. Along the roadside of Shikoku, sometimes small huts are erected to enshrine statues of Kōbō Daishi. These are called *daishi-dō*, similar to those found in the temple compounds. There are two roadside *daishi-dō* where pilgrims can stay, between temples #53 and 54 and also #66 and 67.

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[444] Tokushima: #2, #6, #7, #12, #13, #19, #23; Kōchi: #24, #26, #37, Ehime: #40, #58, #61; Kagawa: #75, #81, #83. However, out of these some are only open to pre-arranged groups of pilgrims and /or only operated during the pilgrimage season. Additional temples are open from time to time as the need arrises, such as #38.

[445] The following temples offer a *tsuyado*: #6, #12, #33, #34, #35, #37, #40, #47, #51, #56, #58, #64, #69, #75, #84. Underlined are the six that also offer a *shukubō*. Data provided by the *zenkon no kai* (Zenkon association), and this list is up to date as of May 2010. It is circulated by the *henro to omotenashi no nettowāku*, and was received on 24 May 2011 by its director, Mr Matsuoka Hirofumi, at it offices in Takamatsu. He confirmed this list as indeed accurate.

Private people's *o-settai*

How about the meaning of *o-settai* for the other participants, private people? Their acts of charity can be divided into two types:

1. Private and personal *o-settai* between a person and the pilgrim. This is done spontaneously. For example, I received several offers to give me a lift when I walked parts of my first pilgrimage.


a)
b)

Plates 53 a and b: private and personal *o-settai*: monetary giving to a pilgrim at #51, Ishite-ji. Photograph taken on 31 October 2010

2. Groups of village people, often from nearby in Shikoku but sometimes from neighbouring Wakayama prefecture, would give *o-settai* in a group. This is organised, and they would, for example, have their own area at various temples[446], where they would have a stand with fruits, drinks, sweets, and towels to hand out to pilgrims[447]. Here, forming a link with the temple in which the group regularly has its stand to hand out *o-settai*, can be seen, whilst also forming a bond between the participants themselves, united in organising and giving out the *o-settai*, and also with the pilgrims, who receive the *o-settai* (more about forming links below).

Plate 54: *O-settai* organised by a group and received at temple #1 on 8 April 2008 at a booth within the temple complex at the left side of the entrance gate (as seen from inside the compound), which is reserved for this purpose only

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[446] For example, temples #1, #6 and #64.

[447] They do not distinguish between pilgrims that walk or use other forms of transportation: all are to receive one offering (Ehimeken shōgai gakushū sentā ('Ehime-Prefecture Lifelong Studies Centre'), 2003: 6). It it might however be argued that walking pilgrims experience more exhaustion than, say, people in a bus-group, and two informants, on separate occasions, explained to me (see page 269) that they likes to give to all, but *especially* to the walkers.

In all instances, pilgrims are supposed to accept the gift; it should not be refused (however, some walking pilgrims refuse a lift by car), and they should offer an *osame-fuda* in return. This custom is however not followed anymore in all instances. Particularly bus-pilgrims often do not hand out their *osame-fuda* upon receipt of *o-settai*.

In the following, I shall first describe the various forms of *o-settai* by private people, and then analyse why they do it, and how they understand it.

Zenkonyado

A *zenkonyado*, *house of good deeds,* is a: "a place where through the owner's good action towards a traveller, the owner would obtain good fortune and merit" (Moreton, 2001: 53). Miyazaki explains: "Another choice for free [or sometimes low cost] accommodation is zenkonyado… Many people believe that they will obtain merit by offering their home to pilgrims" (2007: 21). A well-visited *zenkonyado* is that of the owner of Sakae-taxi in Kokufu-township in Tokushima-city, Mr Inoue Kenichi. This has a very convenient location, only around 850 meters from temple #16, Kanon-ji. He offers free use for pilgrims of two rooms of the upper floor of his office, as well as a washing machine on the balcony, and a bath and toilet on the ground floor. He started this in 2000, after he had been concerned about the well-being of walkers whom he saw sleeping outside, and when Kōbō Daishi had appeared in his dream next to his pillow. During these ten years, around 10,000 pilgrims have stayed with him (Iyo Tetsu, 2011c: 4)[448].

Another example of a free-of-charge *zenkonyado* is Mr Nishida's home, between temples #38 and #39 in Akadomari-chō in Kōchi. However in this case, Mr Nishida told me that his *zenkonyado* saw a drastic decline of pilgrims staying there after the Second World War. In fact, now hardly anybody stays there anymore because it has become off the road for walking pilgrims. His *zenkonyado* is located on the roadside of a now little-used 9-km-long pilgrimage path for walking pilgrims. Having a *zenkonyado* is a family tradition that, according to him, his ancestors have been doing ever since seven generations ago. The traditional *henro michi*, *pilgrimage path*,

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[448] An in-depth interview by me at his office is planned in 2012, in order to receive further details.

leading to his *zenkonyado* is, because there are now not so many walkers as before, soon covered by grass and other greenery, so he keeps the path clean, and told me that this is yet another form of *o-settai* for those who do use it.

Plate 558: Nishida's traditional-style *zenkonyado* and pilgrims, photograph taken on 23 April 2010

When I visited the Nishidas[449], there were two male walking pilgrims, who stopped by and were offered cold drinks and some sweets by Mr Nishida's wife; however, it was at noon, so the pilgrims continued their walk and did not stay there for the night; in fact, they had hardly any time to rest at all. This path, I can confirm by my own observation, is in a mountainous area and very exhausting and there is no other accommodation (and toilet) nearby, so a *zenkonyado* was, at least in the past, highly appreciated by pilgrims. The Nishidas told me how their family had over generations kept the path clean and offered free lodging, food and drink and toilet to walking pilgrims, and they wish to continue this: by doing so, they respect their ancestors' tradition. Again, this shows how much memorialising the dead – especially family members, and following and protecting (by upkeeping) traditions that they had done – is important to the Japanese. According to Mr Nishida, the isolated village in the

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[449] On 23 April 2009.

mountains is losing its inhabitants over the years because there simply is no work for the younger generation, and even when they retire they would not return to their parents' house. Now there are only 11 households (30 until a few years ago) with 20 people living there with the average age around 80, with Mr Nishida being 63 and his wife 59, so they are the youngest in their village, and they want to give a good example of *o-settai*. They are greatly respected by the villagers for their selfless *o-settai*. As a result, he became the Akadomari *chiku-chō* (local area leader). In addition, he has risen from his position of ordinary member in the *Ōtsuki-chō-henro-michi hozon-kai* (*Ōtsuki-Pilgrimage-Path Preservation Association*) to their local area leader. Here one aspect of *o-settai* becomes clear: forming links with locals. Also, he told me, as the village was very isolated, before Radio and Television, having pilgrims from all over Japan stay there was the best – only – way to find out what was going on 'outside'; in his words: *o-settai* and *zenkonyado* served as the only news-channel in the village. He explained that it was a fine means to find out about other parts of Japan, with pilgrims having stayed in his home from nearly all prefectures of Japan. Repeaters would make it a habit of staying there regularly. One can see here that another aspect of *o-settai* is forming reciprocal links with outsiders (pilgrims). As of May 2010, there are 21 completely free *zenkonyado* and 20 where pilgrims can stay for a small fee[450].

There are also shelters prepared by private people for pilgrims, usually bus shelters which are not in use any more, and where the benches are converted with some tatami and futon, so that they function as beds. As of May 2010, there are 32 such places[451]. For example, Koll stayed at this particular shelter between temple #36 and #37, where he was brought breakfast, including a boiled egg and hot coffee, the next morning by a neighbour as *o-settai* (2008: minutes 35~40):

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[450] As per list of the *zenkon no kai*, see note 445 on page 260 .

[451] As per list of the *zenkon no kai*, see note 445 on page 260.

Plate 59: Outside of the out-of-service bus shelter which is now functioning as a shelter for pilgrims to stay overnight. There are two red *henro*-markers, indicating that this is for pilgrims' use. It was used by Koll for this in 2007; photograph taken on 6 December 2009. For its inside (with *osame-fuda* glued to its walls), see plate 32.

Local people also interact with pilgrims through other means of *o-settai,* such as giving a lift to walking pilgrims.

Moreton lists, also as of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, giving sandals (2001: 72), which would surely wear out when walking (these were made of straw), foot care (76), as pilgrims suffer from sores and blisters (I was offered once to receive it at a hotel), haircuts (77), tea (79), food (81), transportation (83), and collecting mail and money orders for pilgrims at temples until they arrive there (84). Koll relates that on one occasion in 2007 he received too many *o-settai*-oranges to carry, so he donated them to a roadside Jizō-statue. As of 2011, several *onsen* (hot springs) offer discounts for pilgrims (for example between #10 and #11, #17 and #18, and #39 and #40)[452], and some locals offer help by acting as English-speaking guides; other *o-settai* are baths, tea, yoga-lessons, coffee, internet access, bicycle

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[452] Comparing this to Takamure's experience, when she was not allowed to enter a public bath in 1918, pilgrims have obviously become cleaner.

repair, and bicycle borrowing[453].

The meaning of *o-settai* for the people who give it out

So, why do people give out *o-settai*, what does it mean to them?

When I received *o-settai* throughout my pilgrimages, I was told by those who gave it:

1. Helping pilgrims is equal to supporting Kōbō Daishi. After all, Kōbō Daishi could still be alive and walking around the island. He might also be in disguise, and one should not forget the story of Emon Saburō, who only realised that this was the o-Daishi-*sama* after he had refused to give alms to him. The other example given above was the *toyoga-bashi*, *the bridge of the ten nights*, and both these stories teach that there a moral obligation for charitable giving: one should be giving alms or other support to the o-Daishi (respectively the pilgrim), or else ill-fortune will happen. This, to me, includes a bit threat-avoidance, as much as doing something as a moral obligation.
2. The pilgrimage is hard, and so this gift is done to recognize and appreciate this special effort of the pilgrim. It should be mentioned that walkers are not given more gifts than other pilgrims, although people do wish to give *o-settai* especially to walkers.
3. If one cannot do the pilgrimage oneself (such as because of health issues or being too busy at work), by giving to pilgrims, he or she is doing the pilgrimage instead of oneself[454].
4. If giving *o-settai* on a day on which there is a memorial service for a dead relative, this would transfer the merits gained through the act of *o-settai* to this ancestor. This shows how important memorialising the dead

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[453] As per list of the *zenkon no kai* see note 445 on page 260.

[454] This is confirmed by Kathrin Nake, a German who walked it during summer 2009, and who received much *o-settai* throughout: "*Viele Japaner haben keine Zeit oder keine Möglichkeit, den Pilgerweg selber zu laufen. Deshalb geben sie den Pilgern kleine Geschenke und unterstützen so finanziell oder materiell diejenigen, die sich auf den Weg gemacht haben und absolvieren damit indirekt auch den Weg*." (Many Japanese have no time or opportunity to walk the pilgrimage themselves. Therefore they give small presents to pilgrims in order to support financially or materially [otherwise] those that are doing it, and through this, they themselves also do the pilgrimage) (2010: 21).

is, and how it is interwoven in Japanese customs.

5. Pilgrims, including those from outside Shikoku, and the villagers of Shikoku are bound, through the pilgrimage, into one big family, and therefore it is like supporting a dear family member.

Relevant to explanation no.3 is something Mr Nishida[455] said, when we were studying his *osame-fuda*[456]. He explained to me that he was told by his father, who learned it from his father, that collecting 1,000 *osame-fuda* (through *o-settai*), in other words, giving *o-settai* to 1,000 pilgrims, would bestow the same merit as doing the pilgrimage once. The occurrence of this belief is confirmed by the village government of Ōtsuki-chō (where Mr Nishida lives) in their *henro* research publication (1995: 1144) – all of these are geographically located in Kōchi-Prefecture.

With regard to the 1,000 *osame-fuda* believed to convey the same benefit as doing the pilgrimage once by oneself, he said that a "quick" way to assemble these was by offering free lodging, when there were exclusively walking pilgrims in the past. This makes sense. His family, over the centuries, had collected 15,569 *osame-fuda*, which, in addition to giving the merits explained above, according to him, are believed to have the power of *omamori* (amulets), protecting the house against fire or other misfortune, so they were put into a rice basket and hung under the ceiling of the roof.

Something similar was told to me by the grandfather of the Ozaki family in 2010 when we inspected their *osame-fuda* received from a Mr Tatsuo Konishi, who had done his 278th pilgrimage at the age of 86: people who have done the pilgrimage many times have received many blessings through this, and a share of these blessings can be earned from receiving and collecting their *osame-fuda:*

> You receive these from those that have done [the pilgrimage] many times…. I mean, this man has made [the pilgrimage] so many times… he must have earned a great deal of blessings[457] for doing the pilgrimage so many times. A share of his blessings[458] should be earned from just by having these[459].

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[455] On 23 April 2009.

[456] See appendix B for an explanation of these *osame-fuda.*

[457] 功徳, *kudoku.*

[458] 功徳.

[459] ようけ参った人の何をそれいただいてほら、何するわけ。。。だからもうそれ相当

On 29 October 2010, when I had stayed at the *shukubō* of temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji, I dropped in on a lady who had previously given me *o-settai*, giving her a photograph I had taken of her then. She explained to me that her parents weren't doing *o-settai*, but her neighbours were when she was little, but not many people did it then (ca. 1950s?), and she herself started it 8-10 years ago, when many pilgrims started coming. Some places do *o-settai* as a community activity, but in her area (she is born there) it is done individually. She gives mikan fruit as *o-settai* to pilgrims, because it quenches thirst and is healthy, and, generally, to express her consideration. She wants to give *o-settai* to all pilgrims, but especially walkers.

A second encounter with an opportunity to inquire about *o-settai*, albeit unplanned, presented itself soon afterwards, on the 31 December 2010, when I visited #58, Senyū-ji. On my way back to the parking lot, I received *o-settai*[460]. A woman had her own small stand there, between the *hon-dō* and the parking lot, where she would give *yuzu*-fruit-juices to pilgrims. She was also in her 60s, and on this day also did it as an individual activity. She told me that other places give *manjū*-sweets and tea, although her place also sometimes also did this (this could mean that there is sometimes a group of people giving out *o-settai*). In older times *o-settai* also consisted of rice-balls, miso-soup and many other things. *O-settai*, she explained to me, is serving pilgrims, for example with free drinks, and is done at other places too; actually, she herself has experienced receiving *o-settai* particularly in Tokushima. So this is a case of someone who has received, as well as given out, *o-settai*. She thinks that *o-settai* is important because the pilgrimage is a tough journey, especially for walkers, so that pilgrims can take a break and relax. In the end, she presented me with some sweets which *she* had received from someone – how kind, too!

Kihara explained to me[461] that, as they are living close to temple #40, her mother wanted to do something helpful to pilgrims, and so she designed and dedicated this

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お参りしてる人じゃけんね。。。やっぱりそうようけ参ってる人にはやっぱりそれなりの功徳がありますねん。ね、その功徳いただかなあかんねん。

[460] Please refer to the English translation, the original Japanese transcription and audio recording, which are made available on-line at:

English translation: http://www.ryofupussel.org/58-e.pdf
Japanese transcription: http://www.ryofupussel.org/58-j.pdf
Original audio recording: http://www.ryofupussel.org/audio-58

[461] Personal e-mail communication, 5 June 2011.

pilgrimage-path marker. And, looking at the photograph she took there, she seems proud that her mother did such *o-settai*:

Plate 56: Kihara proud of her mother's *o-settai*, in Ainan-town near temple #40. Photograph courtesy of Kihara, taken on 20 September 2008

With all the above three examples, one further aspect of *o-settai* is found: activities to support, aid and protect the pilgrims lead to the (perceived) well-being of the donors – as individuals or in their groups and organisations.

O-settai from private people to pilgrims, result in forming links – but this can also go the other way. Kihara explained to me: "… for me it's totally natural to help pilgrims and live with them. When I was little, I believed they were sacred people. One day, when I was doing some cleaning in my backyard, one pilgrim came to me and gave me an Oronamin-C[462]. I still remember that clearly. I can say I grew up with pilgrims in my hometown"[463]. This was a "precious moment" for her (2009: 4). So, this is a case where a pilgrim is donating to someone else, a local person in this instance. This

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[462] A health drink that also contains much vitamin C.
[463] Personal e-mail communication, 5 June 2011.

selfless act had left a deep and lasting impression on the ten-year old Kihara, which she still remembers vividly.

The thesis will continue to look at further support as *o-settai*, first by briefly showing what is happening on a 'larger scale': what the government and other organisations are doing to support pilgrims; and finally by analysing *sendatsu*, who should be a 'good' example of a devout pilgrim, and who should support, help, teach and assist pilgrims, keep the pilgrimage path clean, and, on a larger scale, protect and preserve this pilgrimage. This will round off this chapter on those that support pilgrims, and their motives.

Publically organised support for pilgrims

The local governments of Shikoku as well as the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, are engaged in steps to make improvements in the infrastructure for walkers. There is the 'green line', which is being painted as guidance around the Shikoku pilgrimage path, wherever it is paved. It has already been painted from Bando train station all along to temple #1, in Mima-city and Komatsushima-city, towards Cape Muroto (all Tokushima Prefecture), and Matsuyama-city (Ehime Prefecture). Furthermore, on 300 km of National Roads which were found to be dangerous for pilgrims, lights in badly-lit tunnels are being repaired, the space for walking next to roads are being widened or built anew, and lines are drawn to mark a separation between roads and pavements, where there are no rails between them.

b)

a)

Plates 57 a and b: Two examples of the ‘green line’; a) is leading from the Bandō-train station to temple #1, Ryōzen-ji; note the pilgrimage marker at the lower right hand corner, and the stone-marker of #1; b) is on the way to temple #23, Yakuō-ji; a) was taken on 22 May 2010, and b) on 27 October 2010

Plate 58: The worst tunnel for pilgrims: inside the Matsuo-tunnel[464] in Ehime, Uwajima-shi, Tsushima-chō, on *kokudō* (*National Road*) number 56: 1,710 m long, and walkers need around 30 minutes to pass through – this is demanding, dangerous, and posing health risks through cars and trucks passing by and air pollution through their engine exhaust fumes. Photograph courtesy of Kihara, taken on 19 September 2008

Plate 59: As part of the above governmental plan, on such a dangerous tunnel, brighter lights are being installed, and the tunnel is being cleaned up; photograph taken on 25 May 2009, on *kokudō* (National Road) number 55, on the way to temple #24, Hotsumisaki-ji. The left sign invites the pilgrim for a free *o-settai* coffee at a coffee-shop nearby

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[464] 松尾トンネル, entering (when walking clockwise) at lat. 33.1488, long. 132.5307, and exiting at lat. 33.1563, long. 132.5467. It is an ascending road.

Plate 60: *Kendō* (*Prefectural Route*) number 39, on the way to temple #36, Shōryū-ji: a sidewalk that can be used by walking pilgrims has just been added, with protective guard-rails between the street and the sidewalk, as well as on the outer side of the sidewalk. It had until now been dangerous for pilgrims to walk at that side of the road; photograph taken on 25 May 2009

Local service clubs (in particular Lion's and Rotary) donate funds for improving much needed facilities for the elderly and handicapped (as it might be difficult for them to stand during the rituals conducted; such as shown on plate 22), and these have their name and logo added on the benches or slopes that they donate; the service clubs thus establish a bond with the locals, temples, and pilgrims.

Plate 61: A group of bus-pilgrims sitting on newly installed benches in front of the *hon-dō* of temple #44, Taihō-ji; photograph taken on 7 December 2009

The airports of Kōchi, Takamatsu and Matsuyama offer dedicated spaces for changing into the pilgrimage attire, and where pilgrimage utensils and accompanying videos are shown, and free tea and snacks are offered, being explained by sigs as *o-settai* (see plate 28).

Having been established in February 2009 by Rev. Yuasa Shōichi (a Shingon priest), Nishimura Masato (owner of a *zenkonyado* near temple #1), and Rev. Kinoshita Tokiko (a nun residing and working at temple #1), the *zenkon no kai*, *zenkon-association* recruits local volunteers who support pilgrims by letting them use their toilets and to do their laundry at their homes, and there are moves to try and get more *zenkonyado* established, in particular, as they see it, to support poorer pilgrims, so as to keep them from sleeping in train stations or in the open air. They wish to make Shikoku a "nature hospital", and an "oasis for the heart and soul", as they call it[465]. Their slogan relates to Kōbō Daishi and is written on their publications as "Namu Daishi Henjou Kongou".

The *henro to omotenashi no nettowāku, Pilgrimage Hospitality Network*, located in Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture[466], which has started its activities in 2004, issues *henro omotenashi taishi*, *Pilgrimage Hospitality Ambassador Certificates*, to recognize those who support pilgrims[467]. They also issue *henro taishi*, *Pilgrimage Ambassador Certificates* to anybody who has completed the pilgrimage by foot and applies for it [468]. Furthermore, they put up small plastic stickers in English and Japanese as direction markers (for walkers and different ones for those who do it on bicycle); build and erect stone-markers to guide pilgrims[469]; they also take care of dedicated "*o-settai*-trees" (the first one on 4 August 2007): These include *mikan*, *kinkan*, *sakuranbo*, *iyokan*, blueberry, and *biwa* (all Japanese fruits). Pilgrims can

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[465] Small wooden plates are being hung up by them at many locations on pilgrimage paths, stating "四国は心のホスピタル" (*Shikoku is a hospital of the heart/soul*).

[466] For further information, see http://www.omotenashi88.net

[467] Between 17 February 2005 and 31 March 2011, total: 516 recipients, according to a list that I received from its director, Mr Matsuoka Hirofumi, when I visited him in their offices on 24 May 2011.

[468] Between 8 April 2004 and 31 March 2011, total: 17,698 recipients, according to another list that I received there.

[469] 28 stones have been erected in Tokushima (with further 3 in production), 3 are in production in Kōchi, 2 in Ehime, and 60 in Kagawa (with one more in production), which makes the total 90 (plus 7 in production). More than half of these were donated by local Rotary-clubs, according to another list that I received there.

simply pick their fruits as nutritious snacks during their pilgrimage[470].

Plate 62: *Henro to omotenashi no nettowāku, Pilgrimage Hospitality Network,* director Mr Matsuoka Hirofumi, and their nineteenth stone-marker, showing the direction to temple #85, Yakuri-ji. This and the twentieth marker were both donated by Mr Nakasone Hirofumi, then-Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose father was a former Prime Minister of Japan. Photograph taken in front of the *henro to omotenashi no nettowāku*'s office, Takamatsu, on 24 May 2011

Professor Uta Kazuhiro of Kinki University is leading a project to build eighty-eight 20m²-sized huts for pilgrims, which are to include a bench, toilet, and a washbasin,

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[470] As of 15 April 2011, there are 14 *o-settai*-trees in Tokushima, 37 in Kōchi, 19 in Ehime, and 17 in Kagawa, making it a total of 87 trees, most of which are donated by local Rotary and Soroptimist clubs and Kagawa University, according to another list that I received there.

for pilgrims to take a rest or stay overnight; he calls these, *henro goya*[471], *small* henro *huts*. As of February 2011, they have completed as many as 41 of these, the first as of December 2001, and the most recent being completed in December 2010, located in Imabari-city, Koizumi-go[472] (Iyo Tetsu, 2011b: 2) [473]:

Plate 63: The first *henro-goya* is located in front of the JR Awa Kainan train station (Iyo Tetsu, 2010c: 8 and personal observation)[474]. Photographs taken on 25 May 2010

Sendatsu

A final aspect of *o-settai* and those that support pilgrims are the *sendatsu*[475]. These are pilgrimage leaders, who are appointed as such by the Reijōkai. A brief word about the Reijōkai: Osada, Sakata and Seki state that it started operating around 1956 (2003: 110). The official guidebook of the Reijōkai adds some more detail: in January 1911, the 23 pilgrimage temples of Tokushima formed a group to regulate their activities (Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 23-24), in 1935 the term

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[471] 遍路小屋.

[472] Lat. 34.042933, long. 132.980733, alt. 14m.

[473] For further information, please see: http://www.geocities.jp/henrogoya/koya.html

[474] Lat. 33.607609, long. 134.3517, alt. 86m.

[475] Some people, such as the interviewed Ms Nishikawa, call them *sendachi*. The *kanji* 先達 can be read both ways.

‘Reijōkai’ started to be used (26), on 10 December 1942, the *Nichinichi Shimbun* newspaper of Kagawa reported on the official establishment of the ‘Shikoku Reijōkai’ with a large meeting at temple #75, Zentsū-ji (27), and the first *sendatsu* was appointed in 1958, which was the beginning of a large expansion of the Reijōkai (27), or rather, as Ms Suzuki, a Reijōkai office staff member, told me[476], they started operating on the present full scale since then, as before 1958, they were hardly active.

According to its official guidebook, the purpose of *sendatsu* is to teach and explain pilgrimage-related matters to pilgrims and non-pilgrims, as well as to introduce and spread news of the Shikoku pilgrimage in Japan and abroad. They should support pilgrims through explaining the pilgrimage’s and each temple’s history in line with the Reijōkai’s publications. Also, they should lead groups of pilgrims and explain the way as well as give any other support necessary when an individual pilgrim asks them for help. For this, they have several clear insignia through which they can be recognized as a *sendatsu*. They also have the duty to keep the *henro michi*, *pilgrimage path*, clean. Generally, they are expected to be a good example of a devoted pilgrim, who protects, promotes, and does the pilgrimage again and again (Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 35-6). Important questions here are why pilgrims wish to become *sendatsu*, what role they see themselves as fulfilling, how they regard Kōbō Daishi, and how temples and other pilgrims understand them.

Reader (2005: 171) quotes the date of the first *sendatsu* being established as a rank by the Reijōkai as 1965; however, according to Iyo Tetsu, they, as a company, received the appointment as first ‘*kōnin sendatsu*’ on 3 December 1958 by the Reijōkai, and that this was later reinforced by a recommendation of Shingon’s head administration at Kongōbu-ji-temple on Mount Kōya on 21 February 1962 (Gakkan Henro henshin-bu (ed.), 2003: 58). This is also confirmed in a document that I received from the *Higashi Nippon Sendatsu Kai* (East Japan *Sendatsu* Association)[477]. The first *sendatsu*-training seminar was held on 17 November 1967 at Zentsū-ji (held yearly), so, prior to this, there was no official, formal training offered.

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[476] When I stayed at the *shukubō* of #75, Zentsū-ji, on 24 April 2009.

[477] A list of *sendatsu* and their *sendatsu*-identification-numbers, received through letter, dated 26 May 2011.

Sendatsu-ranks are as follows. It is not prescribed how a candidate-*sendatsu* has done the pilgrimages, or how they will do them in the future, whether by bus, car, or walking, for example. The numbers of *sendatsu* in the various ranks are given in brackets, as of May 2011[478]:

1. 先達 *sendatsu*: Also named *kōnin* (official)-*sendatsu*; has completed the pilgrimage at least four times (4,820).
2. 権中先達 *gonchū-sendatsu*: At least two years after becoming a *sendatsu*, in which a person has completed the pilgrimage at least two more times, and a recommendation by a head priest by the same temple that recommended his or her first *sendatsu* appointment is needed (the 'same-temple-rule' applies to all further applications for the various *sendatsu* levels) (1,502).
3. 中先達 *chū-sendatsu*: At least two years after becoming a *gonchū-sendatsu*, in which a person has completed the pilgrimage at least two further times, and a recommendation is needed (1,062).
4. 権大先達 *gondai-sendatsu*: At least three years after becoming a *chū-sendatsu*, in which a person has completed the pilgrimage at least three further times, and a recommendation is needed (675).
5. 大先達 *dai-sendatsu*: At least three years after becoming a *gondai-sendatsu*, in which a person has completed the pilgrimage at least three further times, and a recommendation is needed (859).
6. 準特任大先達 *juntokunin dai-sendatsu*: Chosen by the Reijōkai from particularly active and dedicated (to the pilgrimage and to the Reijōkai) *dai-sendatsu*[479] as a level of 'halfway-through' towards *tokunin-dai-sendatsu*. For levels 6 and 7, further pilgrimages are not a necessary prerequisite, and instead of from one temple, recommendations from all 88 pilgrimage-temples are required (20; maximum 30).
7. 特任大先達 *tokunin dai-sendatsu:* Chosen by the Reijōkai from particularly dedicated and active *juntokunin dai-sendatsu*; it is the final and highest appointment for lay pilgrims (6; maximum 10).

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[478] Rev. Fuchikawa calculated the data from their electronic database, and provided me with these results, when I visited him for that purpose at the Reijōkai-offices on 25 May 2011.

[479] The criteria for being chosen as *sendatsu* for levels 6, 7, and 8 were explained to me by Rev. Fuchikawa by telephone on 19 July 2011.

8. 元老大先達　*genrō dai-sendatsu*: Need to be a head priest of a temple (neither necessarily a pilgrimage temple, nor a temple on Shikoku), who is particularly dedicated and active. Temple priests are appointed to this level straight from level 5 (*dai-sendatsu*) – they skip levels 6 and 7. Reader mentions (2005: 308, note 65) that when he conducted research for his book, that there might have been no one alive who held this rank at that time (4).

This makes a total of 8,948 living *sendatsu* as of May 2011. Rev. Fuchikawa further calculated that there have been 14,283 *sendatsu* appointed altogether, and that in other words, 5,335 *sendatsu* have passed away.

Fees are ¥50,000 (around £380, as of July 2011)[480] for the two-day seminar (this does not include accommodation and meals associated with the seminar) at Zentsū-ji at the end of which the approved *sendatsu* receives a certificate, a plate that can be hung up at the entrance of their residence stating that a *sendatsu* is living there, a special colourful *sendatsu-wagesa*, a red *sendatsu-nōkyō-chō,* a red *sendatsu-kongō-tsue* (see plate 5), a *sendatsu* manual, and the monthly へんろ *henro* newsletter[481].

The 44th training seminar was the most recent (at the time of writing) and was held at temple #75, Zentsū-ji, on 3 and 4 December 2010. On the 3rd, 407 people were appointed as *kōnin sendatsu,* and on the 4th, a total of 507 (with 490 who actually attended) to higher ranks: 243 *gonchū*-, 144 *chū*-, 93 *gondai*-, and 27 *dai-sendatsu*. This makes a total of 914 people appointed in 2010 into various *sendatsu* ranks (Iyo Tetsu, 2011: 1).

Plate 64: The *sendatsu-kai* on 3 December 2009 at temple #75, Zentsū-ji, prior to commencement

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[480] For *gondai-sendatsu* or higher, the fee is ¥ 100,000 (around £780 as of July 2011). They then receive other commemorative items, such as a *zuda-bukuro*.

[481] This magazine is published by Iyo Tetsu Fudōsan (the real estate department of the bus company), edited by Iyo Tetsu Henro Henshūbu (their editorial department), with overall supervision executed by the Reijōkai.

Of those newly appointed *sendatsu* in 2009[482] that had conducted it by motorised transport, one told me that he was called by Kōbō Daishi to become a *sendatsu* and guide other pilgrims, another one wanted to work as a *sendatsu* as he was unemployed at that time**,** and another had been asked by a temple whether he would like to be appointed as a *sendatsu*. A young man who had walked it told me that he had a feeling of thankfulness for all the friendliness and *o-settai* that he had received during the pilgrimage, so he wanted to give back to pilgrims by guiding them in a friendly way (he did, however, run an on-line shop for Shikoku-pilgrimage items, so there was a business interest, too). A young woman told me that she wanted to find work – and being a *sendatsu* is one kind of work. An old man told me that he felt close to his death, so he wished to receive this certificate to be respected by his family members and others that would attend his funeral, where it would be displayed. Another old man told me that he wanted the certificate and door-plate so that he and his family would be respected by others. A middle-aged man told me that the real reason was to satisfy his ego, and he added that he thought that this was the real reason for most to be certified. There were also a mother and her son who were both appointed that day; she said that she regarded the appointment as a 'passport to heaven' (*'tenkoku e no pasupōto*' were the words she used); when I asked her whether she didn't believe that the *nōkyō-sho* would already guarantee that, she replied 'yes, but even quicker!'. Her son thought of that as nonsense and said that the only reason for him was to get a job as a *sendatsu*. An old man told me that it had been suggested to him that he be appointed after his eighth completion by another *sendatsu* and to ask for the recommendation at a particular temple to which the senior *sendatsu* was connected; he wouldn't mind leading other pilgrims, if he got an offer to do so, as long as he would be paid for this.

I do not think that the majority of the 8,948 living *sendatsu* all lead pilgrimage parties or carry out the sorts of tasks for which they might gain remuneration[483]. For the majority of them, it might be more a case of showing commitment to the pilgrimage itself, as well as gaining status. So I found three categories of people:

a) becoming *sendatsu* simply for the prestige of the title,

b) becoming active pilgrimage guides (as a paid job to make a living from it),

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[482] At the 先達会 *sendatsu-kai* on 3 December 2009, which I attended.

[483] As a point in case, I myself do *sendatsu* tasks but have never received remuneration for this.

c) those who become active pilgrimage guides for the love of doing so, i.e. not as paid employment (but who might still ensure that their expenses are covered).

Giving a pilgrimage temple's view on this, Ms Itawaki of temple #55 explained to me[484] that she is aware of paid *sendatsu* only when they are leading a pilgrimage group as they have to make a living; and because this is a paid job, some people want to become *sendatsu*. In past times, many were volunteers, though. However, she added, some people might just want to be appointed as *sendatsu* for the prestige, or self-fulfilment, but these do not normally lead tours as such.

Man 2, who was on his seventh round walking it, and whom I had met at temple #75[485] was well informed about the requirements for becoming a *sendatsu* (but would not want to become one himself). He said that being a *sendatsu* is a means to make a living. To be a *sendatsu* as a living is OK, as one needs money. From the extract below, Man 2 does seem relatively well informed, though his expressing the view that being a *sendatsu* is a way to make a living may be a judgement beyond his actual knowledge – it is an example of how pilgrims view *sendatsu*. Man 3 in our discussion there knew only a little about *sendatsu*, not knowing such as prerequisites for appointments, or whether there is a test administered, as can be seen in our conversation:

> MAN 3：Can anyone become that [a *sendatsu*]?
> MAN 2：Huh? Anyone (?) You're required to have done at least four rounds.
> MAN 3：So there's no test, no?
> MAN 2：No. So when you are (?) eighty-eight places, you obtain a letter of recommendation and then submit it at the Zentsū-ji Temple. They'll have a screening there and then you attend the three day lecture and pay fifty thousand yen to get a *sendatsu* certificate.
> ME：I thought they were all volunteers.
> MAN 2：It's a business.
> ME：Everyone is doing it as a business?
> MAN 2：It's a business to make a living.
> ME：Everyone. How much do you think they get?

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[484] On 31 October 2010.
[485] On 24 October 2010 at their *shukubō*.

> MAN 2：I don’t know.
> ME：You’ve never asked?
> MAN 2：No, never.
> ME：So they are protecting the o-Daishi in their heart but that’s not the only reason. That, too, and to make a living.
> MAN 2：Yes…[486]

The *sendatsu* in our group confirmed this in his own case. He didn’t really answer my question on how much he was paid for his services were, though. But he told us that he is not only certified as *sendatsu* for Shikoku (although he mostly does it), but has altogether five certificates: Shikoku 88, Shikoku Bekkaku[487], Shikoku thirty-Six Fudō, Saigoku and one other one which he couldn’t remember. He is self-employed as *sendatsu*, and for him, this is his job to make a living, it is his income. And a good one, too: he could visit temples and pray for his ancestors (here is the motive of memorialising the dead again) and get paid, and eat good food. Meals are important

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[486] MAN 3：あれだれでもなれるん？
MAN 2：え？　だれでも（？）４、４回回ってるのが最低条件で。
MAN 3：なら試験はいらんのか、いらない。
MAN 2：いらない。でね、要するに、八十八ヶ所（？）ときに、推薦状書いてもらって、それをあの、なんていうか、善通寺か、届けてそれで審査をして、じゅ、善通寺で３日間ぐらい、講習会があって、それで５万円払うと先達の資格がもらえるんです。
ME：だけどぼくはみな、あれね、ボランティアでやると思ってた。
MAN 2：商売。
ME：みんな商売。
MAN 2：商売、生活のため。
ME：みんなそう。どれくらいもらうんだろうな。
MAN 2：わかんない。
ME：それ聞いたことない？
MAN 2：うん、うん。
ME：つまり心でお大師さんをまも、守るためだけじゃない、ま、それもあると思うけど、ま、でもやっぱり生活あるし。
MAN 2：うん。。。

[487] Other pilgrimages have recently been established on Shikoku, for example the *Shikoku bekkaku junrei, Shikoku Independent Pilgrimage*, in 1969, which incorporates 20 temples, and the *shin Shikoku mandara junrei, New Shikoku Mandala Pilgrimage*, in 1989, with 88 sites (84 temples and 4 Shinto Shrines. However, these other pilgrimages are minor players: head priest Rev. Higashimoto Ryūshō and vice head priest (the second in command), his son, Rev. Higashimoto Takashi, of *bekkaku* temple #20, Ōtaki-ji, told me on 14 April 2008 that they experience around 1,000 pilgrims per year, and head priest Rev. Kondō Tatsuhiko and vice head priest Rev. Katō Ishin of the *shin Shikoku mandala* pilgrimage temple#1, Tōrin-in (which is actually an *okunion* of 88-pilgrimage temple #1), told me on 26 April 2009, that they have “200 to 300 pilgrims per year, maybe even less”. So these numbers don’t even come close to the ‘success’ that the 88-temple pilgrimage has.

for female customers, so they would go to special restaurants even for lunch[488]:

> ME：*Sendatsu*…,
>
> SENDATSU MAN：Yes, I am.
>
> ME：You are?
>
> SENDATSU MAN：I have a certification.
>
> WOMAN 1：Oh, really?
>
> SENDATSU MAN：Yes. I do the Shikoku Pilgrimage mostly.
>
> WOMAN 1：Do you?
>
> ME：So you become the leader of a group, to drive and guide them. Excuse me for asking a dumb question but…, do you make a living doing that? Do you get paid for being a *sendatsu*? You do? That's nice.
>
> SENDATSU MAN：Everyone says they envy this job.
>
> ME：I'm sure.
>
> SENDATSU MAN：I can visit temples to pray for my ancestors and get paid, and eat good food, too. Meals are important for female customers, so we go to special local restaurants even for lunch.
>
> MAN 1：Right.
>
> SENDATSU MAN：So I only get to go to good restaurants. Today we went all the way near Mannō-ike[489] for lunch. (laughter)
>
> MAN 2：All right. That's (?). It's nice.
>
> SENDATSU MAN：I ask them "if we go there, we won't get to this place until so-and-so time, is it okay?" and they'd be like "yes, whatever." (laughter)
>
> ME：So you are not an employee of Iyo Tetsu Company? Are you self-employed?
>
> SENDATSU MAN：Ah, no. [meaning that he is not employed by Iyo-Tetsu. He is doing it independently]
>
> ME：No?
>
> SENDATSU MAN：No, but I often use Iyo Tetsu.
>
> ME：Oh, I see.
>
> MAN 2：You have a good voice so I thought you must be *sendatsu*.
>
> SENDATSU MAN：Huh?
>
> MAN 2：You have nice voice so I thought you must be *sendatsu*.
>
> SENDATSU MAN：I'm *sendatsu* for the *Shikoku*, *Bekkaku*, *Shikoku Thirty-six Fudō*, *Saigoku* and…I can't remember another one…, I have five certifications.
>
> ME：I've always thought *sendatsu* people were volunteers. But I understand. People have to make their living.

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[488] We met, by chance, again at temple # 70 on 26 May 2011, where we conducted the rituals together for his group at the main hall. Shikoku is a small world!

[489] Reservoir, not far from temple #75.

SENDATSU MAN：You have to be able to tell your party, “this is how much the entire trip will cost” and then the customers will tell me if it’s okay. If they were like, “that’s it?” then I would think “I should have said more!”
ME：So how does it work? Do you charge per person?
SENDATSU MAN：I’ll ask how many people will be in the group and then I can calculate the total cost.[490]

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[490] ME：あの、先達さんとか。
SENDATSU MAN：あ、ちゃんとしてます。
ME：あ、そうですか。
SENDATSU MAN：免許持ってるし。
WOMAN 1：あ、そうなんですか。
SENDATSU MAN：一応もうほとんど四国ばっかり来てるの。
WOMAN 1：あ、そうなんですか。
ME：それで、ま、グループのリーダーになって、で、いろいろ説明しながら、ま、運転しながら。あれ、ちょっと、へ、変な質問で。仕事、に、な、な、なるんですか。いくら。ちゃんとお、お金もらってそういう先達して。あ、それいいんですね。いいんじゃないですか。それ。
SENDATSU MAN：だから周りからみんな「いいね」って言われます。
ME：うん。
SENDATSU MAN：一番好きなお参りができてるから。先祖の供養して、で、給料入るから。それで、おいしいもん食べさせてもらうから。だからもう。だから女性の方だったら、結構おいしいもんがいいから、だからお昼でもおいしいとこの、ご当地の、本当おいしいとこに。
MAN 1：行ってね。
SENDATSU MAN：だからもうおいしいとこにしか、食べ。今日は満濃池の手前までランチ食べ行きました。(笑い)
MAN 2：あ、そうですか。それは（？） ましたね。いいですね。
SENDATSU MAN：うん、「だから今日は何時になるけどいい」、「ああ、もう、いい」とか言って。(笑い)
ME：あれ、で、じ、なんかどこでお勤めてるんじゃなくて、伊予鉄さんとかじゃなくて、自分で。
SENDATSU MAN：あ、違い。
ME：あち。
SENDATSU MAN：いや、伊予鉄さんはもうしょっちゅう乗ってますからもう。
ME：あ、そう。
MAN 2：お声がいいから先達さんかなと思ってたの。
SENDATSU MAN：ん？
MAN 2：こ、お声がいいから先達さんかなと思ってたの。
SENDATSU MAN：先達ももう、先達は一応その四国、別格、四国の三十六不動、西国、は持って、あと１個どこやったっけ。５つほどは持ってるんだけど。
ME：じゃ、先達は、それボランティアですると思ったんですけど、そうじゃないんです、やっぱりちゃんとまあ、お金じゃないとやっぱりね。
SENDATSU MAN：ちゃんと連れて、に、「旅費がいくらで全部でこれだよ」、「それでいい」。「安いよ」とか言って。もうちょっと言っとけばよかった。
ME：よ、し、たとえばたの、たの、頼んだとしてど、どのようにするんですか。１人とかそういうなんか。
SENDATSU MAN：だから何人で行くとかだいたいわかったら、それで頭計算して。

As this thesis is seeking to find out how Kōbō Daishi is part of the living orally-presented understanding of the pilgrimage, I wanted look at whether *sendatsu* tend to talk of Kōbō Daishi as founder, whether they are telling and spreading miracle stories, whether they are agents of the orthodox Shingon view of the pilgrimage, but also of more individualized folk ideas, and so on. The training manual of the Reijōkai instructs *sendatsu* to talk about their memorable experiences and to support the feeling of pilgrims upon completion that it was "四国遍路はすばらし。よかったね。。。", "the Shikoku *henro* was fantastic, it was a good thing to do…" (Shikoku Hachijūhakkasho Reijōkai, 2006: 39), and it is their duty to produce a feeling of wishing to do it again (40). They also instruct *sendatsu* to explain the temples' and pilgrimage's history in the bus and in the *shukubō* in an easy to understand way; the pilgrimage is not an 'academic' matter, but something that should be practically done. All in all, the pilgrimage makes a connection to Kōbō Daishi and the chief deities and should be portrayed as giving blessings (40).

To get more information, I decided to talk to *sendatsu* in a context away from their actual performances of the pilgrimage. So, I arranged to meet two *sendatsu* whom I had become friendly with, at locations of their choice (in other words, where they would feel comfortable and where they could relax and talk feely; both decided to meet close to their homes in Tokyo). I had become acquainted with both at a *sunafumi*-event on 23 February 2011 at Shinshō-ji temple in Tokyo, where they had been helping out. Both are also founding members of the *higashi Nippon sendatsu kai* (East Japan *Sendatsu* Association). *Sendatsu* A was met on 10 July, and *sendatsu* B on 14 July 2011, and both talks lasted for more than one hour. Both were 72 years old as of 2011, and both belonged to Shingon-shū. *Sendatsu* A's parents were from Shikoku, near #54, and that is why he usually made this his starting point. He spent his first three years in Shikoku until 1942, and then moved to Tokyo, where he grew up, because of war-related work of his mother; so he argued that one could say that he was a Tokyo-raised person (and his parents have a grave at a Shingon temple in Tokyo). But doing the pilgrimage brings back some kind of 'memory' or 'familiarity' with Shikoku in him whenever he is there. He likes to travel in Japan, and did the Chichibu-pilgrimage once in 2011, but it is not the same as Shikoku[491]. He did his

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[491] See also man 2's comment at the *shukubō* of temple #75 about the Saigoku pilgrimage compared to Shiokoku, pages 39 and 195.

first Shikoku pilgrimage in 1992 (when he was 53), after he had had a stroke which left the right side of his body unable to move. He put all his faith in o-Daishi-*sama*, got better and did his first pilgrimage (by bus-tour) to say ‘thank you’. He does tell this to his ‘customers’[492]. Then he did it again in 2000 (after retirement), for which he walked short distances and used all kinds of public transportation. He subsequently got ‘hooked’ on it and then did it every year since 2005, and has done it eight times altogether now, all clockwise, mostly in parts (usually blocks of one-week as this is the maximum time his group can do (unlike the following interviewed *sendatsu*, he started leading pilgrims only after he had become a *sendatsu* after his 4th time, as this is the minimum requirement for being a *sendatsu*). He has then become a *gonchū-sendatsu*, and will become *chū-sendatsu* in 2011. First he did the pilgrimage alone, but when he showed pictures of it and talked about it back in Tokyo, some people asked him to guide them. Consequently, he got certified, which he felt the appropriate thing to do before he could lead people. He likes to stay at *onsen*-hot spring accommodation in Shikoku. He has met Ms Yotsumoto with the NHK-team (see page 170) at temple #75 when she was there, and knows Rev. Kashihara *Zenchō* of temple #75, Zentsū-ji; in fact, he is proud to know temple head priests.

Sendatsu B’s family comes from the Tōkai area (a subregion of Chūbu, see map 3), around 300 km from Shikoku, where he grew up and met his wife. His company later transferred him to Tokyo, where he has lived ever since. His wife first did a ‘copy’-88-temple-pilgrimage in 1952, which was close to her home in Tōkai, as she had been told that doing it brings blessings. This pilgrimage could be walked in three days, and she became hooked: she continued doing it over forty times. So, in 1992, she had the idea of doing the ‘original’ 88-temple-pilgrimage in Shikoku, and asked her husband to accompany her. As he likes travelling, he agreed, and they rented a car to do it. However, they had been ill-prepared due to lack of experience, and when they had arrived at temple #1 in the evening, they were told that all *shukubō* close-by were full. They finally found a small inn close to #1, but they were booked up too; so, the owner let them stay in his private room. Such friendliness had made a deep impact on him, and he will never forget this warm-heartedness. It is because of this

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[492] Both *sendatsu* used the term お客さん *okyakusan*, ‘customer’ or ‘client’, for the pilgrims whom they lead.

experience that he became a dedicated pilgrim. He would always tell this story to his 'customers', pointing out the *o-settai*-tradition and friendliness of the locals in Shikoku, for which all pilgrims should be grateful. Already half-way through during this first pilgrimage he had been asked by fellow car-pilgrims if they could drive together, with him leading through driving first. So they would drive in a 4-car convoy, all the way to Mt. Kōya. Pilgrims become *nakayoshi*[493], which was also a memorable experience of his first pilgrimage, and this, too, is something that pilgrims should be thankful for, as he tells his 'customers'. He had always led pilgrims from the first time on; and after the eighth time of staying at temple #2 with his group, the head priest recommended to him to become certified, which he subsequently did; now he is a *chū-sendatsu* and will be appointed as *gondai-sendatsu* in 2011. His 'customers' generally come from Tokyo, for whom he usually cuts the trip into three-day sections. He has done the pilgrimage fifteen times now, all always acting as a leader, and always motorized (usually by micro-bus), though he lets pilgrims walk from the entrance gate to the temple compound. He knows many temple head priests, and is proud of this.

Both, *sendatsu* A and B, said that it is OK that they pay the fees to become certified and gain this status, because it is a kind of giving their activities a seal of official approval. Both work freelance, and get paid directly by their tour-participants. As for the tour-companies, I asked Iyo-Tetsu[494], and they informed me that they a) have their own guides, who are employed as full-time salaried workers by them, and that b) in peak seasons they can furthermore draw on a pool of freelance *sendatsu*, who are registered with them, and these will be paid accordingly by Iyo-Tetsu directly.

On what being a *sendatsu* means to them, both answered that a) it is a means to generate income, b) it is a means to make the pilgrimage again and again (without occurring costs by doing so), c) that they can introduce the green and beautiful nature and fresh air of Shikoku to their participants, who come from Tokyo, and they hope that they thus will get a happy and calm heart[495], d) that they can spread the

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[493] To become friendly with each other.

[494] By calling them up on 11 March 2011. I talked to Mr Watanabe of the Iyo Tetsu Company's Pilgrimage Centre Department, Matsuyama, as Mr Takayama Yuji, office head, had changed his department in the meantime.

[495] 幸せな気持ちになるし、心がとても落ち着きます。

faith in the o-Daishi-*sama*. Neither of their wives accompany them on the pilgrimage, but they support their activities.

I wished to explore the issue of the Reijōkai seeking to emphasize a Shingon interpretation of the pilgrimage, and Kōbō Daishi as a Shingon figure but also as a 'sacred' figure embedded within the broader folk tradition, and to see if there is any tension with how the *sendatsu* see him and how the Reijōkai training guides people to see him. I therefore let the two *sendatsu* tell me how they see the history of Kōbō Daishi and the pilgrimage, how they tell stories concerning these to their participants, and the role that Kōbō Daishi has for them. Both said that Kōbō Daishi surely had been to several places on Shikoku, such as the Shashingatake-mountain-peak near temple #21, the Mikuro-dō near temple #24, the Mannō-ike-dam, and #75, Zentsū-ji. But, *sendatsu* A said, nobody else had been there at that time, so in fact we cannot know for sure what had happened. But his duty is to tell it the way it is written in the handbook, because a *sendatsu* is appointed by the Reijōkai, and has to be loyal. It is up to each individual pilgrim to make up their own mind about these matters. Sometimes believing is better, as it aids getting a calm heart. *Sendatsu* B said that it is not up to him to decide these matters; as he is certified by the Reijōkai, he would take their explanations in the training manual as right, as people who surely know well have written this. In the end, nobody can say for sure what had happened, so it is better to follow the guidebook. Both *sendatsu* displayed a similar opinion here.

Also similarly, both *sendatsu* told me that they tell the related tales and miracle stories, as they are written down in the handbook, such as temples' founding stories, tales of Kōbō Daishi, Emon Saburō, and so on. But they do not insist on these. *Sendatsu* A added that Kōbō Daishi was unlikely to have caused the deaths of the children of Emon Saburō. But, in the end, this pilgrimage is open to everyone, so *shūha* (sect affiliation) plays no role, nor does belief in these stories. What is important is to enjoy nature, and to get a peaceful heart, and to be in harmony with all participants. To keep the harmony between members, it is better to believe these stories, and not argue about them. Anyway, *sendatsu* A tells these stories to those he leads, and believing or not is then up to each individual. So, both *sendatsu* tell and spread the miracle stories, and act as both agents of the orthodox Shingon view of the pilgrimage, being very conscious that they were appointed by them and therefore having the obligation to do so. They also convey more individualized folk ideas, whilst combining these with their own stories of how they were drawn to the pilgrimage and other memorable events (such as how faith in Kōbō Daishi had healed them), as well as their own teachings (such as to be thankful, and so on). These are all in order to produce a feeling of harmony between the participants, a calm heart, good memories, feelings of receiving blessings from Kōbō Daishi and other deities, and – most important – through all of these, a wish to repeat the pilgrimage.

Whereas *sendatsu* B saw matters a little bit more business-like, *sendatsu* A added at the end of our talk that for him, the pilgrimage is to experience and enjoy beautiful nature, stay at *onsen*, to travel, and to meet fellow pilgrims and – as a *sendatsu* – to deepen the relationship with temple priests, which he enjoys doing, and being known by temples in Shikoku gives him satisfaction and pleasure. He believes in Kōbō Daishi: he is the centre of his life, and he puts all his faith in him – because he was cured by him. He prays to him every day, recites *sūtra*s, offers incense and candles. Therefore, if one were to take the traditional stories of Kōbō Daishi away and look at his life only with 'academic' eyes, it would take his own personal happiness away. For him, it was like it is explained in the Reijōkai's manual and guidebooks. Some aspects, maybe that of Emon Saburō, might not have happened that way, but this is because he doesn't want Kōbō Daishi to have killed people (this is, in my understanding, not what this story actually says – I think it was rather than the impersonal force of karma is portrayed as having done this, but even if not, it is interesting that this *sendatsu* understands it as meaning that Kōbō Daishi killed eight children – no wonder he is uneasy about the story!). Maybe the first pilgrims were monks from Mt Kōya after Kōbō Daishi's death, but this does not take Kōbō Daishi away from the pilgrimage: even if he had not established all these temples or done the pilgrimage, he is there with each pilgrim, here and now, *dōgyō ninin*, because he is in *nyūjō* (eternal adamantine meditation) at his *gobyō* (mausoleum) at the Okunoin-temple on Mount Kōya. His 'spirit' is with him all the time when he is doing the pilgrimage in Shikoku: this is what he tries to make clear to his participants. For him personally, Kōbō Daishi is not (only) Kūkai; Kūkai is the historical person; Kōbō Daishi is o-Daishi-*sama*, who could have (and can do) anything, everything, at any time, at any location, for those who believe in him. This faith in o-Daishi-*sama* is what is important for his life to ‘centre’ it, and this is what he teaches his participants.

So, my informants, being active pilgrimage guides, tell and spread the miracle stories, and act as agents of the orthodox Shingon’s and Reijōkai’s view of the pilgrimage, being very conscious that they were appointed by them and therefore show loyalty. Adding that as nobody can be exactly sure what had happened such a long time ago, they tell the stories the way they are laid out in the Reijōkai’s handbook; it is then up to each individual pilgrim to make up their own mind about these matters, and sometimes believing is better, without any arguing over them, as it supports harmony between group-members. Through their activities, my informants wish to spread the faith in the o-Daishi-*sama*, while at the same time making a living from it, or at least being able to repeat the pilgrimage with their expenses being covered. Furthermore, through acting as a *sendatsu*, they become ‘bonded’ with some temple head priests, which they clearly showed that they were proud of. Others become *sendatsu* simply for the prestige of the title. Furthermore, it is a matter of fact that at least those *sendatsu* who reside in Shikoku enjoy high social respect in their community. Also another important aspect is that, all in all, there is a feeling of group-belonging among the *sendatsu*. As the Ozaki grandfather, whose wife was a dedicated pilgrim and appointed as *sendatsu* in around 1970 (she was number 5640[496]), summarised it to me: “They took care of her at *sendatsu* meetings”[497].

Conclusion

In the Shikoku pilgrimage context, the tale of Emon Saburō could be seen as the first example showing that there is believed to be a moral obligation for charitable giving: one should be friendly to the o-Daishi or the pilgrim following in his footsteps, and give charity, or else ill-fortune (bad *karma*) would happen, as all his eight sons died when he refused to give Kōbō Daishi an offering. So, it is not just that giving *o-settai* generates good *karma* and consequent benefits (and perhaps also blessings from Buddhas etc. and ancestors), but that not doing so brings harm, whether from the bad

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[496] So she was quite an early one.

[497] 先達会合行ってもね、ちゃんと大事にしてくれはりましたわ。

karma of being stingy and perhaps also other ideas too, of direct harm from various spiritual beings. Besides a few *tsuyado*, where the pilgrims can stay free of charge, several temples offer *shukubō*-accommodation, for which they generally charge a relatively modest amount (although I sometimes had my fees waived for this, which is a form of *o-settai*). So, there is a mix of charitable support and money-making. *Shukubō*-accommodation is exclusively for pilgrims, and whilst many have been forced to shut down, others have managed to successfully and innovatively respond to changing needs of the contemporary pilgrims. Furthermore, to establish bonds, at temple #58, for example, temple officials, locals and pilgrims can mingle in a pottery which was custom-built for this purpose.

People do *o-settai* because they believe that helping pilgrims is equal to supporting Kōbō Daishi, in other words, giving a gift to the pilgrim it is equal to giving it to Kōbō Daishi himself (after all, this pilgrim *could* be Kōbō Daishi in disguise…). So, there a moral obligation for charitable giving: one should be giving; moreover if one does not do so, ill-fortune might happen, as related tales teach. The latter part of this feels a bit like threat-avoidance, as much as doing something as a moral obligation. Also, some remember the help that they had received when doing he pilgrimage, or generally that doing it is hard, so they wish to give to pilgrims, although my general impression was that walkers are not given more gifts than other pilgrims. One more reason for alms-giving is that if one cannot do the pilgrimage oneself (such as because of health issues or being too busy at work), by giving to pilgrims, the recipients are in part doing it in one's place. Also, if giving *o-settai* on a day on which there is a memorial service for a dead relative, this would transfer the merits gained through the act of *o-settai* to this ancestor. So, pilgrims and the villagers are bound into one big family, and therefore supporting a pilgrim it is like supporting a family member.

Community-bonding and sharing were major aspects of alms-giving to pilgrims, as this chapter has explained. Besides spontaneous *o-settai* between locals and pilgrims, organised *o-settai* forms a bond between the participants themselves, as well as a link with the temple in which they hand it out, and also with the pilgrims, who receive the *o-settai*. Furthermore, it keeps up traditions from the ancestors – and results in merit accumulated for oneself as well as for one's ancestors. *Osame-fuda* collected from those who one gave *o-settai* to, is regarded as an amulet, protecting the house against fire and the family against misfortune, so traditionally they were put into a rice basket and hung under the ceiling of the roof. Furthermore, 1,000 slips collected is seen to accumulate the same merit as the pilgrimage once done by oneself. This is one of the reasons why people offer their home as *zenkonyado*, where pilgrims can stay for free. Another informant told me that collecting coloured *osame-fuda* accumulates even greater merit, as these pilgrims themselves, by virtue of doing the pilgrimage repeatedly, have received many blessings through this, and a share of these blessings could thus be earned from receiving and collecting their *osame-fuda*. An example was given from someone who started a *zenkonyado* after Kōbō Daishi had appeared in his dream. An informant told me that doing a *zenkonyado* is a family tradition which they wish to continue: by doing so, they respect their ancestors' tradition. This shows how much memorialising family members, and protecting their traditions is important to the Japanese. His family is giving *o-settai*, and so they are greatly respected by the villagers for this, and he has subsequently risen in his position in their Ōtsuki-Pilgrimage-Path Preservation Association. Here one aspect of *o-settai* is forming links with locals. Furthermore, as I learned, many villages were once very isolated, so having pilgrims from all over Japan stay there was the only way to find out what was going on 'outside'. One can see here that another aspect of *o-settai* is forming reciprocal links with outsiders. Local service clubs and non-profit organisations also support pilgrims, as this chapter explained in detail.

So, there are two aspects of *o-settai*. On the one hand, *o-settai* is for *the benefit of others*: helping pilgrims is equal to supporting Kōbō Daishi, in other words, the pilgrim it is equal to Kōbō Daishi; or one wants to give back the help and friendliness that oneself had received during one's own pilgrimage; and also giving *o-settai* shows appreciation as a sign of motivation akin to 'keep it up', 'don't give up'; and all of these actions form reciprocal links with outsiders, between the group members of the *o-settai* giving-participants, as well as with the temple where they conduct it. On the other hand, it is for *one's own benefit*. Any act of giving is seen to generate karmic benefit for the donor, but also, in giving to pilgrims, he or she is doing the pilgrimage instead of oneself, and it transfers its merits gained through the act of *o-settai* to one's ancestor(s); collection of *osame-fuda* 'works' like a protecting amulet for the house and family; as well as collecting a certain number of slips accumulates the same merit as if one had done the pilgrimage oneself; and the more colourful the *osame-fuda* is, the more merit is gained – here, the pilgrims' accumulated merit as seen through doing the pilgrimage repeatedly is transferred to the *o-settai*-giving person; furthermore, organising and handing out *o-settai* can result in higher respect in the local community. Generally speaking, aiding the well-being of pilgrims leads back to one's own well-being. As such, activities to support, aid and protect the pilgrims, as I understand it, lead to the well-being of the donors – as individuals or in their groups and organisations.

Whilst pilgrims, and those that give *o-settai*, share and form various bonds, s*endatsu* share a particular form of togetherness, too, and as a member of this group one can find – regardless of whether it is done as a paid 'job' or to gain prestige or just as showing commitment to the pilgrimage – a unique, 'special' group to belong to. Whilst a pilgrim might become friendly with other pilgrims during the pilgrimage, and whilst some of those friendships might last beyond that, being *active* as a *sendatsu* means belonging to a certain group of 'special' pilgrims for a long time, theoretically until one dies. So, the motives for becoming and acting as a *sendatsu* include 'being called by Kōbō Daishi', 'protecting Kōbō Daishi', supporting pilgrims as volunteers, enjoying a community of other *sendatsu*, for prestige, and to lead other pilgrims (often as paid work) – all of these reasons in their own right. As for the contemporary pilgrims' point of view, they saw *sendatsu* being remunerated for their activities as alright, and they also understood *sendatsu* as protecting the o-Daishi.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

"In Japan, all research is fieldwork" – this bold statement by Levi McLaughlin (2010: 1), in the context of anthropological, sociological and political studies[498], clearly defines my approach to, and experiences of, research to find out how contemporary pilgrims understand the Shikoku pilgrimage, with particular reference to the role of Kōbō Daishi in this.

The value of this thesis is that it includes and analyses many testimonies from participants and people associated with the temples, and through them shows that oral narratives of the pilgrimage do not need to follow the historical evidence accepted by scholars, and that pilgrims and other participants in the pilgrimage process develop their own understandings and 'see' the pilgrimage through such lenses.

It became clear that in the views of my informants, the 'real history' of the pilgrimage is not important compared to the legendary one centred on Kōbō Daishi, and this is seen in their adherence to tales and stories relating to him. My informants showed how people naturally draw on commonly held beliefs, especially if they have never come across more sceptical academic accounts. And regarding those less devout pilgrims, this thesis explained how conduct and belief are very context-dependent in Japan, and so these would still go along with such understandings to some extent: although pilgrims might talk of it as a 'story' and a 'legend', they, to varying extents, temporarily enter the 'world' of the stories, and thus feel their force. For my informants, Kōbō Daishi was 'close' to humans, more ever-available on the pilgrimage route to those doing the pilgrimage with faith, watchfully guiding and protecting those pilgrims who believe in him; and those that don't yet, might still relate miraculous events that happen during the pilgrimage to his 'power' – or, as Graeber put it with regards to the belief-statement that kings descended from heaven: "For those involved, it's not ultimately all that important whether or not kings really

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[498] On the ground as well as in the library. McLaughlin has experienced Japanese libraries as also "structured through a nexus of social networks (1)… administrators and librarians: people you must never alienate" (5). By this he means that one must learn to understand how inter-personal relationships work (I am thinking here of, for example, hierarchical structures at institutions – and I include temples on Shikoku here, too), and how one – as a foreign researcher – functions appropriately and efficiently in this context.

did descend from the sky; what's important is that they might as well have" (2001: 247), and the merit of doing the pilgrimage further pleases Kōbō Daishi. *Sendatsu* that I interviewed do tell people 'anomalous' events, such as their experiences of being healed through the power of the Daishi. It was shown how Kōbō Daishi is seen to exist here and now, somewhere on the boundaries of Buddha-worlds and this-world; being 'alive' in his mausoleum, and at the same time present in limitless manifestations, including in Shikoku, as ever-watchful, 'blessing', protecting, helping, performing miracles and, because of this accessibility, Kōbō Daishi can easily be prayed to for fulfilment of wishes.

In the Introduction and chapter one, I explored the available literature on the theoretical and empirical debates in the area of Religious Studies, studies of religion and the religious in Japan, and the main perspectives and key concepts and current debates about the Shikoku pilgrimage.

In chapter two, the thesis then discussed various research methods and approaches, explained my role as a researcher and how I gained access to the target groups, including issues of 'insider' and 'outsider' as well as mixed research methods, the way I gathered information from my participants, such as through long interactions, which include spontaneous conversations and explicitly planned interviews, and the role of photography in my research.

For this thesis, I carried out not only literature-based research, but also examined valuable artefacts together with head priests or individuals owning these, as well as briefly surveying 1,000 pilgrims, and conducting and analysing four-in-depth interactions with fourteen participants in total, which were each around one hour long, or rather: I listened to what they discussed, with little or no prompting. The transcriptions, translations, original audio-recordings and a video-recording were made available on-line for other researchers. Two of these long interactions took place at the *shukubō* of two temples, revealing what areas pilgrims talk about, in other words, what is important for them. In addition, a life-interview at the home of a pilgrim with his family was conducted. Furthermore, I listened to a 'spiritually' healed pilgrim at his home, where he explained how the pilgrimage and ritual behaviour and deities (and, according to his doctor, especially Kōbō Daishi) healed his blindness. All of these provided fascinating insight into how these informants understand and construct the pilgrimage and the role that Kōbō Daishi has in this. I also conducted in-depth interviews with two *sendatsu*, on two separate occasions. Other interactions were also recorded and analysed, such as examining *osame-fuda* at a pilgrims' *zenkonyado*, or when receiving *o-settai* at two instances (the latter also made available on-line as transcriptions, translations and original audio-recordings), or talks with temple officials and pilgrims at various instances (one representative example made available on-line, too). The same rule of ethics of informed consent was applied when taking photographs of people or several otherwise 'hidden' artefacts, which serve to explain and document the fieldwork. Except for those from which I had received permission to reveal their identity, all informants were kept anonymous. The meetings for the long-recordings were all started off with handing out my name-card, followed by a little gift (sweets), and then I listened to what they wanted to tell me – and by this I mean that I held back asking and interfering or steering as much as possible –, and afterwards a short thank-you letter was also written, and sent along together with another small present as appreciation. I did this in order to behave as 'correctly' as possible in the Japanese culture, so as not to upset anyone, and to give them a fine memory of our interaction, so as not to hinder any future researcher who might come across these informants (or people related to them) at a later stage. All interactions were conducted in Japanese, so as to receive authentic information in the respondents' native language[499]. Through this, I have been able to keep up our relationship, and as will be explained below, this leads to exciting proposed further fieldwork (some of which has already started), which includes some of these informants, because we have built up a fine and trustworthy relationship.

This thesis uses a constructivist/interpretivist approach, allied with Smart's phenomenological 'structured empathy', and contextual analysis, to interpret the quantitative and qualitative data gathered. Such an analysis of the social characteristics of the individuals is at least of equal importance as statistics, if not more so. It can therefore be recommended that this kind of religious experience should be studied and understood through an open-minded participant-observation,

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[499] Except those of Ms Itawaki of temple #55, and of Ms Kihara of Matsuyama, who both preferred to communicate in English, which they do fluently: Ms Itawaki has been educated in Australia at post-graduate-level, and Ms Kihara is an English-teacher.

and by this I mean that abstract reflection needs to be accompanied by immersing oneself in the experience of the rituals and practices on-site; an ethnographer needs to immerse him- or herself for an extended time within the target group, in order to observe, listen, record, and give a written output of a contextual analysis. In this, he will be much included and interacting in the group of informants. One should be prepared to clearly and straightforwardly talk with, and listen to, people, in their native language, to account for all the fine nuances of their linguistic meaning-making. And by doing so, these studies should include a discourse about culture and society, with the researcher carefully being sensitive to differences and the many layers of cultural meaning-making. Through such an approach, the structures of beliefs inside the head of the believers can then be understood – from the informant's own perspective and by examining how individuals perceive and interpret their life and world and around them, and what it means for them and how they make sense 'of it all'.

In chapter three it became clear that in the views of my informants, the 'real history' of the pilgrimage is not important compared to the legendary one centred on Kōbō Daishi and the related Emon Saburō legend, and this is seen in their adherence to legends and stories relating to him. For example, they assume or 'know' that Kōbō Daishi had spent a lonely night under a bridge in 815, so this had happened there and then, in their understanding. Or, a devout pilgrim may believe that Kōbō Daishi is alive, or that a certain extant stone ball came from the hand of the reborn Emon Saburō. This became, for example, clear in the long conversation that pilgrims and I had at the *shukubō* of temple #38. And the long interview with the Ozaki-pilgrim-family showed how people naturally draw on commonly held beliefs, especially if they have never come across more sceptical academic accounts. And regarding those less devout pilgrims, this thesis explained how conduct and belief are very context-dependent in Japan, and so these would still go along with such understandings to some extent: My informants showed that, although pilgrims might talk of it as a 'story' and a 'legend', they, to varying extents, temporarily enter the 'world' of the stories, and thus feel their force. Many examples were given in the thesis. One pilgrim informed me that he had not expected that, because of all the abundant meaning-making markers (such as the large number of Kōbō Daishi-statues around the island, *Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō* written on the pilgrims' clothes, and the custom of cleaning of the *kongō-tsue* at accommodations and placing it into the *tokonoma*) Kōbō Daishi became more and more of a centre of his 'pilgrimage-world'. In addition, as Kōbō Daishi, too, had suffered lonely and cold nights outside (as in the story of the *bridge of ten nights*), this brought him closer: Kōbō Daishi became 'one of us'. Another informant also showed how she more and more 'entered' the world of stories, as in the beginning, she felt like a tourist, but by observing the pilgrimage-rules (such as that one should not use the *kongō-tsue* when passing over a bridge, as it is believed that Kōbō Daishi sleeps under it, so as not to disturb him), she gradually came more and more to look forward to visiting the temples and 'greeting' Kōbō Daishi in his *daishi-dō*, resulting in a feeling of not doing this pilgrimage alone, but with Kōbō Daishi by her side. Because of this, according to her, she had completed it without any major problems; at the Okunoin on Mount Kōya she then prayed for a long time, thanking Kōbō Daishi and all those people that had helped her for their support. Another pilgrim told about the experience of beautiful nature as a 'present' from Kōbō Daishi, and feeling protected by Kōbō Daishi because he 'caused' good weather. So, Kōbō Daishi is 'close' to humans, more ever-available on the pilgrimage route to those doing the pilgrimage with faith, watchfully guiding and protecting those pilgrims who believe in him, and those that don't yet, might still relate miraculous events that happen during the pilgrimage to his 'power' – this 'accessibility' and 'closeness to humans' is an aspect that was also seen in the next chapter.

Chapter four then looked at contemporary pilgrims' understanding of 'sacred' foci of the pilgrimage other than Kōbō Daishi. Furthering findings of the previous chapter (as also in chapter 7), it became even more understandable how Kōbō Daishi is more accessible to believers than other deities, and how he is seen to exist here and now, somewhere on the boundaries of Buddha-worlds and this-world; being 'alive' in his mausoleum, and at the same time present in limitless manifestations, including in Shikoku, helping, supporting and guiding pilgrims and those who believe in him. Supportive of this is that, of the two halls that are to be visited by the pilgrims (the *hon-dō* and the *daishi-dō*), if they wished, they could see the Daishi-statue by looking through the glass window of the entrance doors of the *daishi-dō*, whereas, in most instances, the *honzon* in the *hon-dō* cannot be seen. Nevertheless, because they have to stand outside of both halls in most instances, there is still a clear boundary between 'sacred' (inside) and 'less sacred' (outside). Important here is also that pilgrims talk about a *honzon*-image as if it is the deity that it depicts, or at least as one of its manifestations, as they regard it as 'alive', having a 'spirit', and the same applies to the Daishi-statue. The thesis introduced, for the first time to the outside, a photograph of the *hibutsu-honzon* of temple #58, Senyū-ji, which has never been shown before. Also, a photograph of the *hibutsu*-statue of Kōbō Daishi of temple #55, Nankō-bō, was included. The Daitsūchishō-Nyorai of #55 is a very rare statue enshrined in a temple in Japan. Furthermore, a photograph of the Daitsūchishō-Nyorai *hibutsu-honzon* of Tōen-bō, which is much connected to temple #55, has been published here for comparison. All of these photographs, especially that at #58, shall serve as reference for future researchers. This chapter then looked at who the gatekeepers are to decide this to be a *hibutsu* and what pilgrims think about it. It then looked at pilgrims' religious affiliation and thoughts about 'religion', and connected with this was an examination of the understanding of coexistence in pilgrims' activities and worship at Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, and their understanding of the *honzon* and *daishi-zō*. For my informants, memorialising the dead was important because the spirits of the dead were seen to have to be cleansed of 'pollution' by accumulated bad karma and mental defilements, because 'bad' or 'dirty' (in the sense of polluted) spirits were thought to be dangerous, harming the family and even their village, so one needed to appease them through rites (such as conducting the pilgrimage), so that they would calm down and become then protecting guardian spirits. The topic of death and the dead was then further taken up in chapter six. For my informants, these protecting guardian spirits also included Kōbō Daishi. By pleasing ancestors, Shinto *kami*, Buddhas and Kōbō Daishi (and appeasing ancestors and Kōbō Daishi[500]), they receive in return mercy and blessings from all of them. For my informants, Kōbō Daishi is seen as ever watchful, and the merit of doing the pilgrimage further pleases Kōbō Daishi, who also then becomes even more of a protector through extending this protection and 'blessing' to the dead as well as to the living family members.

Chapter five continued from looking at a grander picture to contemporary pilgrims' understanding of the pilgrimage explains how items, behaviours, etc., become

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[500] Arguably Kōbō Daishi is also seen as a source of possible threats, as in the story of Emon Saburō.

special. A ‘spectrum of sacred’ is found: This is not a distinction between sacred and profane, in that there are experiences that should be characterised as inherently ‘religious’ or ‘sacred’, but it would place these experiences on a continuum of how much or how less these are deemed ‘religious’ or ‘sacred’: This approach would locate ‘things set apart and forbidden’ at one end of the continuum that runs from the ordinary to the special, with things that are so special that people set them apart and protect them with prohibitions (for example, one must never open the box of a certain *hibutsu*, see note 197 on page 123 as one extreme). Another example of such a continuum would be of two ‘sacred’ statues: *hibutsu* shall not be looked at (under normal circumstances), but *daishi-zō*, even set apart in *daishi-dō*, may be looked at, even if it’s only through the window-glass (in other words, it still cannot be touched). In doing so, we can avoid Durkheim’s problematic claim that “This division of the world into two domains, one containing all that is sacred and the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought” (Durkheim, 1912: 34). As a point in case, when fieldwork looked at what ‘value’ items have for pilgrims, for example, whether one can convert ‘cash value’ into karmic benefit, it was found that these items are special because they make one feel that the ‘Buddha-spirit’[501] is with the owner. As such, ‘value’ is related to ‘belief’. In this understanding, a *nōkyō-chō* with stamps from one completed pilgrimage is good, but having it stamped several times is better, as it shows greater dedication to the pilgrimage and to Kōbō Daishi. The thesis explained that to regard a *kakejiku* as precious, or even more precious than a *nōkyō-chō*, because it is more expensive, which shows that the first sets itself apart from the second because it shows more devotion – and my informants define this using a ‘monetary’ scale. It is not that they valued a *kakejiku* more because it is more expensive (although there may also be some pilgrims who do so, but I did not find this among my informants), but in order to define its ‘level’ of ‘specialness’ (in other words, ‘sacredness’), money is used. As such, the higher the cost, the more it sets itself apart from ‘cheaper’ items – and thus the higher its ‘specialness’, and thus the more one shows devotion. And when pilgrims told me that they collect the *kakejiku* so as to pass it on to future generations, this would further increase its ‘value’, as it has now become a memorial of the deceased ancestors. Likewise, the *kongō-tsue* of the deceased wife of one informant had a high ‘value’ for him, and was therefore placed in the most important part of his house, the *tokonoma*, because it reminded

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[501] See note 310 on page 186.

him of her. In this case, it cannot be priced, but still ranked highly, as is the case of the *nōkyō-chō* that was hand-made by a pilgrim's son versus a commercially produced one (the *kakejiku* though *can* be priced, as sometimes completed scrolls are sold). We can then understand why a *nōkyō-chō* with seals of several pilgrimages is regarded as more 'special' than with seals of just one pilgrimage, and why pilgrims treat books with many seals on the pages very respectfully and as very 'valuable': The more seals are collected in one book, the more 'sacredness' is collected in it, and therefore the more its 'value' is perceived, as compared to a book with just one seal per page. Here, I do not mean 'value' in monetary terms, but in 'specialness' or 'sacredness' – otherwise it would be difficult to understand the pilgrim, who showed me his book, which was completely soaked in red, and in which he *continued* to collect seals, in his own devotion, as seals had already become completely indistinguishable on the pages a long time ago. The meaning that the *nōkyō-chō* has when burned together with the deceased relates to the topic of 'death' (which was taken up again in chapter six). In this chapter, the thesis briefly looked at the idea, now commonly found in pilgrimage maps, magazines and guidebooks, of the four *dōjō* classification: namely that the four prefectures that the pilgrimage passes through, when done clockwise starting at temple #1, correspond to four ordered phases of spiritual development of the pilgrim. However, it was found that this idea had little influence on the pilgrims I spoke to, and the bus-tours do not follow this four-stage classification either.

Chapter six looked at contemporary pilgrims' motives for doing the pilgrimage, their understanding of temple traditions of the Shikoku pilgrimage and the cure of illnesses and diseases, such as 'consecrated' water of temple #22, Byōdō-ji, as well as the Shikoku pilgrimage and death. For this, statistical data through extensive fieldwork was collected and analysed, which provides a fascinating and useful window on how some people relate to the pilgrimage. It was found that the Shikoku pilgrimage is done for a wide variety of motives and reasons, so as to bring benefits to both others and oneself. *Genze-riyaku*, this-worldly benefits, as part of general Japanese religiosity, are clearly central motives, besides memorialising the dead. Sought for benefits ranged from happiness, assurances about the future, success, and lives that can be lived with less problems and dangers. And wishes such as receiving children, or finding a partner in order to get married, or finding a job, are a mirror of how contemporary pilgrims see their obligations and responsibilities in society. In this 'this-worldly'-emphasis, Shinto and Buddhism, as was analysed in chapter 4, have common ground to peacefully co-exist side by side. This part also gave a thorough analysis of the perceived relation of the pilgrimage and death. It was found that some pilgrims believe that when a person passes away, their soul goes and stays in high mountains in Shikoku such as Mt. Ishizuchi and Mt. Tsurugi, which are considered residing places of *kami*. Many examples of *kuyō* in the pilgrimage were analysed in this chapter, and it became clear that Kōbō Daishi is seen as accompanying the dead relative as well as present pilgrim, 'watching over them', and aiding communication of the living with the dead. Drawing on the chapter on pilgrimage items and related ritual, the *nōkyō-chō* was further analysed here, as informants explained a commonly held view by pilgrims that it is important to collect the seals of the pilgrimage in this booklet, which always has Kōbō Daishi depicted in its first page, so that it can be burnt together with the deceased pilgrim, and the more often one does the pilgrimage and consequently the more one collects the seals, the merit gained and blessings received increase, too, and all of this relates to a better 'development' of the deceased after death. The connection of temple #38, Kongōfuku-ji, and a local suicide spot was analysed in detail here, a certain hidden artefact of the temple examined, data (which had not been made public before) collected from the local police station, and the temple's opinion acquired. So, this and chapter 4 have analysed the various Japanese ideas about what happens when one dies, and how one might be able to help the dead. This chapter also reflected, in the context of the range of motives for doing the pilgrimage, on the issue of the pilgrimage as being seen to bring both this-worldly benefits and benefits to the already dead, and for oneself when one dies, and how these matters relate in particular to Kōbō Daishi. As to my informants, they believed that Kōbō Daishi was 'blessing' their life, including arranging for good things to happen to them, and longevity. Regarding the cure of illnesses, well-known for this are several temples, the majority of which are located in Tokushima, the common start of the pilgrimage, so as, I assume, to immediately start giving curing-power, and perhaps also because the ill are less likely to travel further. Several examples were given in this chapter, such as the pilgrim who had had a stroke and regarded his having become better as proof of the healing-power of Kōbō Daishi. Health-preserving or -restoring through 'consecrated' water, blessed through Kōbō Daishi, is a dominant theme in beliefs about curing illnesses in the Shikoku pilgrimage, and informants told me how they understand this. As an in-depth example, the situation at temple #22 was analysed, to understand what role Kōbō Daishi has in healing, and in particular that of 'faith' in healing. Several important artefacts in the temple's possession were shown to me by the head priest's family, and a man was introduced to me who had been 'healed' there, with whom I subsequently conducted a long, in-depth-interview at his home. He and his doctor understood that his healing could not have been curable by medical power, but only through Binzuru-*sama* (whom the man saw, in his own peculiar understanding, as a family member of Kōbō Daishi), and Kōbō Daishi, supported by the 'presence 'of the *honzon* Yakushi *Nyorai*, who is particularly regarded as a healer of illnesses, whose power lay the ground on which Binzuru-*sama* and Kōbō Daishi could 'work'. Furthermore, he believed that by making public notice of his healing in a letter posted at the temple's main hall, and the subsequent donations made to this pilgrimage temple by those who had read it, he receives further blessings. Souvenir-items introduced in this chapter gave an insight on how some contemporary pilgrims relate to the pilgrimage and to Kōbō Daishi, who was depicted on most of these. Often portrayed in a colourful way, Kōbō Daishi becomes very accessible. Born human, he is believed by many to have transcended 'ordinary' death. He seems to be ever-available, protecting, guiding, helping, performing miracles and, because of this accessibility, he can easily be prayed to for fulfilment of wishes. It became clear that pilgrims pray at the *hon-dō* to the *honzon* and ask for their wishes to be fulfilled, and do the same at the *daishi-dō*: both, the Buddhist deity (as a more 'distant' figure) and Kōbō Daishi (as 'closer' to human beings), peacefully co-exist side by side in the same compounds and complement each other, or 'combine' their powers.

Chapter seven looked at temples', pilgrims' and other participants' understanding of *o-settai*, which had already been briefly mentioned in the previous chapters. This was one of the key questions – how the pilgrimage constitutes a social reality through its social interactions. In the Shikoku pilgrimage context, the tale of Emon Saburō (previously discussed in chapter 3) could be seen as the first example showing that there is believed to be a moral obligation, or at least a prudential reason, for charitable giving (in this case, to Kōbō Daishi): one should be friendly to o-Daishi-*sama* or the pilgrim following 'in his footsteps', and give charity, or else ill-fortune would happen, as all of Emon Saburō's eight sons died when he refused to give Kōbō Daishi an offering: this shows how it is believed that refusing to give alms is undesirable, and that not doing so brings harm, whether from the bad *karma* of being stingy or perhaps also from other ideas too, of direct harm from various spiritual beings. This feels a bit like threat-avoidance, as much as doing something as a moral obligation, as related tales teach. Furthermore, people do *o-settai* because it generates good *karma* and consequent benefits (and perhaps also blessings from Buddhas etc. and ancestors), and they believe that helping pilgrims is equal to supporting Kōbō Daishi; in other words, giving a gift to the pilgrim it is equal to giving it to Kōbō Daishi. Also, some remember the help that they had received when doing the pilgrimage, or generally that doing it is hard, so they wish to support pilgrims. One more reason for alms-giving is that if one cannot do the pilgrimage oneself, then by giving to pilgrims the recipients are in part doing it in one's place. Also, if giving *o-settai* on a day on which there is a memorial service for a dead relative, this would transfer the merits gained through the act of *o-settai* to this ancestor. I was told by my informants that in their family tradition, *osame-fuda* collected from those who one gave *o-settai* to were regarded as amulets, protecting the house against fire and the family against misfortune, and they put those into a rice basket, hung under the ceiling of the roof. In this context, the 15,579 *osame-fuda* of the Nishida family in Kōchi, collected and put in a rice basket, were inspected and analysed, of which further details were given in appendix B. Also, 1,000 slips collected were seen to accumulate the same merit as the pilgrimage done once by oneself. Another informant told me that collecting coloured *osame-fuda,* whose colour indicated that they came from pilgrims who had done the pilgrimage many times, accumulates even greater merit, as these pilgrims themselves, by virtue of doing the pilgrimage repeatedly, have received many blessings through this, and a share of these blessings could thus be earned from receiving and collecting their *osame-fuda*.

Community-bonding and sharing were major aspects of alms-giving to pilgrims: *O-settai* forms a bond between the participants themselves, as well as a link with the temple in which they hand it out, and also with the pilgrims, who receive the *o-settai*. Furthermore, it keeps up traditions from the ancestors – and results in merit accumulated for oneself as well as for one's ancestors. When one informant told me that by giving *o-settai*, his family is greatly respected by the villagers, one aspect of *o-settai* became clear: forming links with locals. Furthermore, as I learned, many villages were once very isolated, so having pilgrims from all over Japan stay there was the only way to find out what was going on in the wider world. Another aspect of *o-settai* is forming reciprocal links with outsiders. So, the thesis explained that there are two aspects of *o-settai*: for the benefit of others *and* for one's own benefit. Motivations for giving *o-settai* include: the belief that helping pilgrims is equal to supporting Kōbō Daishi, in other words, the pilgrim is equal to Kōbō Daishi; wanting to give back the help and friendliness that oneself had received during one's own pilgrimage, and showing appreciation as a sign of encouragement; and forming reciprocal links – with pilgrims, with other members of the *o-settai*-giving group, and with the temple where they conduct it. Generally speaking, the well-being of pilgrims – 'Service Above Self' –leads back to one's own well-being.

Plate 69: 慈光, *jikkō*, similar to *rays of affection/love*, calligraphy by a priest of Kōyasan. One of the roles of Kōbō Daishi in the understanding of pilgrims/the pilgrimage is perfectly illustrated here in this contemporary work: Kōbō Daishi (right) is 'closer' to human beings than the 11-faced Kannon *Bosatsu* (left), which is slightly more 'distanced' (as higher off the ground); though Kōbō Daishi is still elevated on a cloud, he is more on the 'human' level. Both figures peacefully co-exist and complement each other, 'combining' their powers, 'shining their light of love and affection' onto pilgrims – one of which shown in difficulty sat on the ground, with her companion looking at her in concern. Kōbō Daishi supports – 'pushes' – from the back, and awaiting 'in front' is the Kannon, right hand in the *hōin* (Skt. *varada*) *mudrā*, the 'wish-granting' gesture. Photograph taken at temple #27, Kōnomine-ji, on 27 May 2011

Out of the findings of this thesis, there is potential for important future research project which I have already started, and which is planned to be continued in 2012 and beyond, with the help of Mr Nishida: How the pilgrimage is transmitted by locals to their children, and the children's understanding of it at the Akadomari-village. Supportive for this is my fine relationship with him, which has grown out of my fieldwork research for this thesis. I met him and his wife[502] at his *zenkonyado* in Akadomari-village, and they explained to me that he was the leader of a project for elementary school-children (ages 8 and 9) of his Ōtsuki-area, to have them

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[502] On 30 October 2010. This talk was also recorded.

experience the pilgrimage path personally, which he regarded as equally important as studying it through texts read in a classroom. The first time that they conducted this project was on 19 November 2009 (with 52 children), and this time was on 18 October 2010 (with 29 children). They walked all the 9 km pilgrimage path, starting from Tsukiyama-jinja. This was in order to introduce pilgrimage culture, the beautiful view of the ocean from the mountainous area that the path leads through, and to preserve the tradition of *o-settai* to pilgrims, as they put up pilgrimage path markers. It is interested in finding out what these children regard as noteworthy (such as special and interesting), as stated in their handwritten letters. I shall meet them again, to conduct an in-depth inspection of thank-you letters that Mr Nishida has received from the children, after I receive the children's and their parents' permission to do so and to share the findings, which I am likely to get with his support. This could show contemporary children's understanding of the pilgrimage, and the role that Kōbō Daishi plays in this, based on what has been transmitted to them and what they themselves have personally experienced.

After analysing literature, visiting sites, gathering data, and talking to people involved, overall then, what do we learn from this thesis' research?

> If anthropology really is 'the process of trying to get a story out of a snapshot'… the synchrony and diachrony of the snapshot must be woven together, not just rhetorically, but as fundamental strategy for understanding and explaining what the snapshot is all about (Winston Davis, 2007: 3).

I agree, and in this, care must be taken: General theories of pilgrimages can only serve as a framework, and, helpful as they may be in aiding our understanding, their limitations must be remembered, at least when analysing something as complex as the Shikoku pilgrimage. We understand through this thesis how the Shikoku pilgrimage contributes significantly to the well-being of all participants (the pilgrim, the temples and its officers, pilgrimage-related business-entities, and those that give out *o-settai*), and how, on a broader level, this pilgrimage offers rich possibilities for connecting with the 'sacred' in this modern (secularized) world. This thesis, through its constructivist/intertpretivist approach allied with Smart's phenomenological 'structured empathy' and contextual analysis, not only gives a better understanding of contemporary pilgrims' patterns of practices and their understandings thereof, but also of the cultural meaning found surrounding and embedded within this, which leads to a better general understanding of contemporary Japanese cultural practices and the world Japanese people live in, such as how they seek to achieve well-being and happiness. This study of contemporary pilgrims' understanding of the Shikoku pilgrimage, and the role that Kōbō Daishi plays in this, provides the framework for all of this.

Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō

南無大師遍照金剛

Appendixes

Appendix A: Basic Survey Sample

This conversation was held on 31 October 2010 at the *nōkyō-sho* office at temple #50, Hanta-ji. The head priest and I know each other well from several previous visits. On that day, I had talked with him about aspects of Shinto and pilgrimage rituals, when a group of four young women arrived to receive their seals from him (at that time, he was the only person working in the office). So, altogether, there were six people: the head priest (in his 80s), four female visitors, and me. They were all wearing 'regular' clothes, and no pilgrimage uniform or utensils, except for the *nōkyō-chō*,[503] in which they had already collected quite some seals. As explained above, I was also wearing 'normal' clothes. This very basic survey took only 1 minute and 52 seconds – short and effective! –, and revealed the following data about these contemporary pilgrims as follows: 4 female, 4 in their 30s, 4 come from Hiroshima, and 4 do it by car. Furthermore, they tell me that they do it *kugiri-uchi*[504], and although their reason for doing it is not precisely given, they do comment on this (see explanation below). Please refer to the English translation, the original Japanese transcription and the original recording (in Japanese) which are made on-line at:

English translation:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/50-e.pdf
Japanese transcription:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/50-j.pdf
Original audio recording:	http://www.ryofupussel.org/audio-50

1. They ask for the seals to be affixed in their *nōkyō-chō.*
2. Knowing that I am a German, the head priest introduces me to them as such.
3. They acknowledge this (by giggling, which is a meaningful mode of communication for younger female Japanese).
4. I ask where they come from by giving them the option of 'Matsuyama', as this temple is located within Matsuyama city. If I had simply asked

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[503] Originally a travel document similar to a 'passsport', and now a book in which the seals of all temples are collected.

[504] See note 121 on page 95.

'where are you from' they might have just answered 'not from here' or the like. This way they were more likely to answer with correcting my wrongly given city name.

5. I continue by asking whether they are students. I was aware that they were too old for that, but again I wanted to give them an option, so that they would reply with the correct occupation.
6. They reply that they all come from 'Hiroshima'. The head priest also has them confirm this. He is probably doing this to a) show that he has genuine interest in these pilgrims, too, and b) to ensure that they give correct answers as he is signalling that he is carefully listening in on our conversation.
7. I then ask whether they visit the 88 temples. I am aware that they do so, as it is clearly visible from their *nōkyō-chō*, but this was the best way to introduce the topic of *how* they do it. (I will later find out by what means they do it).
8. And yes, they accordingly answer that they do it in parts and taking "lots of breaks". This might imply that they also combine this with sightseeing and other pleasure (supportive for this assumption is that they were wearing casual clothes and carried no further pilgrimage markers and items: staying at *onsen*, *hot baths*, and enjoying the delicious meals there, combined with sightseeing of spots of interest in Shikoku, such as locations of a television series[505] that was extremely popular at that time all over Japan, especially with the female viewers, comes into my mind – but this is just a hunch that I had at that time.).
9. I still haven't got their occupations yet, so I repeat asking for it: "Are you in high-school"?, and they reply that they "have a job". Based on their appearance, in my experience (such as behaviour, clothes-style and hair-style), this could mean that they are employed at a company's office.
10. They inform me that they are 32 years old, as they were – happily – surprised that I thought that they were as young as high-school-girls (it was obvious that they were not). At that time I thought that I went too far

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[505] I am referring to the NHK-series, 大河ドラマ, *taiga-dorama*, '*Ryōma-den'* of the famous Sakamoto Ryōma, broadcasted between January and November 2010. It plays in Kōchi on Shikoku, and it is very popular to visit there from all over Japan, to visit the places where he had been: A form of 'pilgrimage'?

with my statement, but it did bear the fruit of them telling me their exact age.

11. I remembered that they said that they come from Hiroshima, so I bring back this topic, which they confirm accordingly. Additionally, having them confirming and agreeing helps keeping the conversation ‘flowing’. Having brought the talk back to Hiroshima, I aim to find out how they do the pilgrimage, and so I ask why they come to Shikoku to do the pilgrimage, as Hiroshima is so far away. They reply that they do it by car[506]. I then prepare to fade out this conversation, (the recording is not clear as there is too much background noise, but I remember that I said something like “sorry to have asked so many questions”), to which they reply “no”, meaning something like ‘no problem’, or ‘don’t worry’. We then exit our talk with a German greeting for ‘good-bye’, exchanged between the head priest and me. This signals to all participants that he was attentive in respect of our talk, and that, subsequently, he had approved my questioning throughout, as otherwise he would have simply interfered or cut it short. This gives the informants assurance that talking to me is indeed alright.

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[506] I happened to notice in the parking lot that they had indeed come by car.

Appendix B: The origin and identity of pilgrims

Introduction

This part uses data including that which was gathered during my fieldwork during 8-15 April 2008, where I briefly surveyed 1,000 pilgrims. Furthermore, I conducted research at the house of Nishida Tadao[507] in Ōtsuki-chō in Kōchi Prefecture[508]. He showed me the old *osame-fuda*, which were collected by his family, covering the time-span of the years 1816-1911 (see the next three plates). These 15,579 *osame-fuda* were important not only because they revealed the origin of pilgrims, but also to lay the ground for an important analysis of the meaning that collecting them as well as putting them up in this form (in a rice basket) has for them, which was analysed in the part *o-settai* in chapter 7.

Plate 65: The *osame-fuda* slips in Nishida's possession in their old basket for rice crops; this and the following photographs were taken at Mr Nishida's house on 23 April 2009

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[507] On 23 April 2009.

[508] Lat 32.7868, long 132.7356, alt 22m.

a)

b)

Plates 66a and b: Inspecting and counting the *osame-fuda*-slips

We inspected these slips over many hours; in particular, we counted the amount of slips from the various regions. Helpful for this, as many were very difficult to read, was that he had already bundled them in stacks, according to each region. However, these would need to be re-counted to confirm this; we also discussed some that we couldn't clearly read. He and his wife, who joined us later, were a tremendous help with this, and they showed me great hospitality, offering me food and drink as *o-settai.* They possess, in total, 15,579 slips, out of which 7,011 are not readable any more (on 2,361 the handwritings are unreadable, and 4,650 are partially eaten by insects).

In order to compare and contrast the present-day data of my field-research in 2008, and bring it into a broader context, I also incorporate findings by the following, thus this part of the thesis covers a span of 210 years, from 1799 (the oldest data available) until 2008[509]:

1) Nishida family's *zenkonyado-o-settai-osame-fuda* (as in Kiyoyoshi, 1993: 8ff. cross-referenced in my field-work in April 2009 by examining Nishida's originals and confirming the validity of Kiyoyoshi): located between temples #39 and #40 (in Kōchi-Prefecture, near the border to Ehime): years 1816-1911.
2) Kouamé (2001: 45ff.); based on her field-work: *fuda*[510] of Ochi family, located in Imabari city, Ehime-Prefecture: from the years 1799-1862.
3) Waseda University (URL); based on a major study of 1,237 pilgrims throughout Shikoku in 1996.
4) Kagawa University (2008: 25ff.); based on a major study of pilgrims at Negoro-ji-temple, #82, Takamatsu-Prefecture: for one full day each month between May 2007 and September 2008.

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[509] To put it into context, my data was elective: pilgrims choose freely to talk to me, whereas Nishida, Hoshino, Kouamé, Kiyoshishi and Ōtsuki-chō-shi Henshū iinkai all use accommodation registries and already collected *osame-fuda*. Waseda's and Kagawa's extensive survey covered many more pilgrims over a longer time-span (around one year) than I did.

[510] Kouamé uses the term *fuda*, which is slightly broader than *osame-fuda*, as it could be used for any Japanese pilgrimage. It includes all kinds of name-slips, for example those posted on temple walls, whereas *osame-fuda* are those handed out upon receipt of *o-settai* (however, Shikoku pilgrims also often posted these on the temple walls). In the context of the Shikoku pilgrimage both terms are nearly interchangeable, and I would suggest using *osame-fuda* for all instances.

5) Hoshino (2001 [data collected in 1974]: 263ff.); *Daikoku-ya* [name of accommodation] *yadosho* [*accommodation registry*] at Kamiukena-gun, Kuma-chō, Ehime: from the years 1925-43, excluding 1932-34 and 1939-40 not retrievable
6) Kiyoyoshi a (1993: 8ff.); *o-settai-osame-fuda* retrieved at Niihama city, Ehime, between temples #64 and #65: from the years 1792-1891
7) Kiyoyoshi b (1993: 8ff.): *Settai-osame-fuda* retrieved at Noma-gun, Ōnishi-chō, Ehime, near temple #53, Emmyō-ji: from the years 1804-1912
8) Ōtsuki-chō-shi Henshū iinkai (1995: 1144): accommodation-*o-settai-osame-fuda* of *Sennin-Yado* [name of accommodation] of Matsuda family in Kameo-chō, Ōtsuki-shi, Ehime: from the years 1789-1868, especially 1804

Total pilgrims

How many pilgrims in total now do the Shikoku pilgrimage? As for 1969, Moreton states that there were 14,257 pilgrims counted throughout this year at #56, Taisan-ji (2005: 9).

Japan's Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism reported on 21 May 2009 a total of 150,000 (this is a very round figure, so it sounds like an estimate) pilgrims annually[511] (their documents of this meeting, including these numbers, are in my possession). Moreton (2005: 9) and Reader (2005: 4) state that 100,000 or more do the pilgrimage annually. In order to find out more, I visited temple #1 on 27 April 2009 where I asked Rev. Kinoshita Tokiko who works there to help me: she called up Mr Kondō Eiji, the head of the Tokushima Prefectural International Exchange Association, who informed us that no definite numbers are known to the prefectural government; we then called up Mr Fujikawa of the Reijōkai at Zentsū-ji

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[511] Numbers presented by Ministry officials, on 21 May 2009 in Takamatsu city at the 'Takamatsu Symbol Tower', 10:30–12:30 attended by them, representatives of the four prefectures of Shikoku, city and village officials, temple head priests, and non-governmental and volunteer workers. They were discussing the future of the Shikoku Pilgrimage, with particular focus on how to involve local governments in a rebuilding process to make Shikoku and the pilgrimage safer and more attractive. This was the first of a planned series of such meetings.

#75, who told us that the last few years (he kept this vague) have seen a steady number of around 150,000 pilgrims annually. In order to cross-reference this number, I asked the head priest of #1, Rev. Yoshimura Chōzen, about this matter, and he told me that the Reijōkai has a vested interest in stating that the pilgrimage is *that* popular; however, the number of stamps given out at his *nōkyō-sho* were in 2008 as well as in 2007: 120,000, and before that constantly 100,000, though these are still round figures. After the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011[512], a sharp decline of pilgrims was found in March 2011, but then rose again to the 'regular' level[513].

Gender

Varying numbers in the data on the gender of the pilgrims is found: for the years 1666-1880, using various sources:

- Kouamé (2001: 71f), for the years 1666 until 1868, gives an average of 64% male and 36% female;
- Hoshino, for the years 1935 until 1943 (excluding 1939-40), counts 65% men and 35% women in the yearly average with 59% men and 41% women in the spring season (2001: 276: table 4-5 and 4-9);
- Waseda University (URL: F1) states that in 1996 there were 48% male and 50% female (the missing two per cent: no answer was given on the questionnaire);
- Kagawa University (2008: 47) counted 68% male and 32% female in 2007-08;

In my research in 2008 I met 40% male and 60% female. Reader quotes temple priests that he had interviewed stating that there are around 60% female and in his observations this number could even be higher (2005: 77f.). This confirms my data collected, and I can state that *recent years*, I have always seen more female pilgrims than male, which does not confirm the results of Kagawa (it might be that their university students – all male (as they state on page 25 of their report) – felt more comfortable asking fellow men for interviews, which could be understandable in the Japanese culture which oftentimes keeps a rather separate grouping of men and

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[512] 東日本大震災, *Higashi Nihon Daishinsai*, on 11 March 2011.

[513] Personal e-mail communication of temple #55 (18 April 2011).

women, such as in social events, so probably these young men found other male pilgrims more easily accessible, whereas for me it made no difference). To analyse the results, it can be assumed that until some 30 years ago, the pilgrimage could be regarded as dangerous to females – Moreton quotes several warnings in travel literature, such as in 1882: "When travelling together, a woman should not allow a man to touch her body because it will result in money being taken" (2005: 9), and, even as late as in 1972, a guidebook states: "it is very dangerous for a female pilgrim to travel by herself" (14). In other words, in the past the pilgrimage was quite dangerous for women, so naturally a greater proportion of pilgrims were male. Things have now improved, and thus the number of female pilgrims has risen, also due to the fact that there are safe methods of travel available, such as in organised groups in buses, but even nowadays I advised the European female pilgrim in July 2009 to be careful. I was also slightly concerned about a Japanese female traveling in 2009 with a 'professional' pilgrim, (whom I suspected to be a homeless and not a *sendatsu*).

Age

There were, naturally, pilgrims, who preferred not to answer this question, in my case 38.8% (ages were not given by 40.7% of all men and 37.6% of all women interviewed, which is quite interesting: women were slightly more open about their ages than men; I do not have a reason for this). Also, I would not include pilgrims below the age of twenty[514] .

The breakdown of the results for those who actually specified their age is as follows:

Age group	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**
20s	18.1	3.4	8.1	2.8	8.1
30s	14.0	4.8	7.3	5.8	8.0
40s	14.0	9.6	6.3	4.1	8.5
50s	21.6	16.2	27.5	15.2	20.1
60s	19.3	36.3	31.1	42.2	32.2
70s	4.9	20.2	14.4	25.3	16.2
80s	n/a	1.6	4.5	4.6	3.6
90s	n/a	n/a	0.8	n/a	0.8

Table 1: Age groups of pilgrims

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[514] See note 85 on page 74.

Explanation:

a: Hoshino % (1935-43, without 1939-40), 2001: 280
b: Waseda %, 1996: F1
c: Kagawa % 2008: 8
d: Me % 2008
e: Average

A clear peak can be seen in the age group of 60s, and it can be concluded that the highest number of pilgrims are retirees, who would also have the time and particularly funds to do the pilgrimage.

Origins

Regions		Hokkaido · Tōhoku · Kantō · Chūbu (Hokuriku · Kōshin'etsu · Shin'etsu · Tōkai) · Kansai · Chūgoku (San'in · San'yō) · Shikoku · Kyushu (Ryukyu · Northern Kyūshū)
Prefectures	**Hokkaido**	Hokkaido
	Tōhoku	Akita · Aomori · Fukushima · Iwate · Miyagi · Yamagata
	Kantō	Chiba · Gunma · Ibaraki · Kanagawa · Saitama · Tochigi · Tokyo
	Chūbu	Aichi · Fukui · Gifu · Ishikawa · Nagano · Niigata · Shizuoka · Toyama · Yamanashi
	Kansai	Hyōgo · Kyoto · Mie · Nara · Osaka · Shiga · Wakayama
	Chūgoku	Hiroshima · Okayama · Shimane · Tottori · Yamaguchi
	Shikoku	Ehime · Kagawa · Kōchi · Tokushima
	Kyushu	**Kyushu (Mainland):** Fukuoka · Kagoshima · Kumamoto · Miyazaki · Nagasaki · Ōita · Saga **Ryukyu Islands:** Okinawa

Map 3: Geographic areas of Japan from which pilgrims come (Wikipedia 2011: URL)

Region	**a**	**b**	**c**	**d**	**e**	**f**	**g**	**h**
Shikoku	33.4	28.4	40.5	51	56.9	15.3	35.4	24.1
Kansai	17.8	24.3	21.1	20	16.9	18.8	25.6	22.1
Chūgoku	31.2	25.3	27.1	18.8	7.9	2.5	13.5	18.5
Kyūshū	10.3	8.3	6.6	4.4	8.2	0.2	2.9	10.6
Chūbu	2.9	8.1	3.4	3.7	5.8	39.7	8.3	6.6
Kantō	3.5	3.6	0.8	1.3	1.8	17.9	11.3	8.5
Tōhoku	0.9	1.6	0.1	0.6	na/nr[515]	2.1	1.9	3.9
Hokkaidō	na/nr	na/nr	na/nr	na/nr	na/nr	3.1	1.3	5.7
foreign	na/nr	na/nr	na/nr	na/nr	na/nr	na/nr	0.5	na/nr

Table 2: Origins of pilgrims

Explanation:

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[515] Not available/not recorded.

a: Kouamé % (2001: 61): 1799-1862
b: Kiyoyoshi a % (1993: 8-11): 1789-1868, esp. 1804
c: Kiyoyoshi b % (1993: 8-11): 1792-1891
d: Nishida % (in Kiyoyoshi 1993: 8-11, confirmed by me): 1816-1911
e: Hoshino % (2001: 264): 1925-42, except 1939-40
f: Waseda % (1996: F2): 1996
g: Kagawa % (2008: 37-43, averaged by me): 2007-08
h: Me %: 2008

Kagawa's was the only research that included foreigners; Hoshino and Nishida did not count any foreigners. The above mentioned Alfred Bohner was the first German pilgrim in 1927 (Moreton, 2001: 11) and Frederick Starr the first American pilgrim, having done it in parts in 1917 and the whole in 1921 (Muro, 2008: xi; also Kihara, 2009: 10-11). I also, purely by chance I assume, had not encountered any foreigner during conducting my interviews for this part of the thesis.

All research show that the highest percentage of pilgrims comes from the island of Shikoku itself (except Waseda: Chūbu, which strikes me as strange).

It can also be seen that until after the Second World War, pilgrims would come from Shikoku or the area surrounding it (such as Kansai, Chūgoku, Kyūshū): Hokkaidō, Chūbu, Kantō, or Tōhoku on the other hand were simply too far away. Only because of the recent development in motorisation and the improvement of the accompanying infrastructure (the availability of airplanes to 'ordinary' people, the construction and improvements of roads, bridges and so forth), combined with a general rise in income, improved health and life expectancy, were pilgrims from such places able to travel to Shikoku. I personally met many pilgrims from Hokkaidō: a lot of people emigrated from Shikoku to Hokkaido when it was opened up/colonised in the 19th century, so there is a regional linkage as a result. Also, there is the increased interest in the Shikoku pilgrimage through the establishment of the Hokkaidō-88-temple pilgrimage[516], but even in the 1980s before the Hokkaido route developed, there

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[516] The most promoted recent "copy"-88-temple pilgrimage is located in Hokkaidō, called *Hokkaidō hachijūhakkasho junrei*; in other words, it has the same name, except for the location: the term *Shikoku* (of *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho junrei*) was changed into *Hokkaidō*. It follows a 3,000 km long route of 88 temples (so this in fact makes this Hokkaidō pilgrimage route the longest in Japan now after 15 December 2006, and the Shikoku the second longest), throughout the entire Hokkaidō (which is an island, too, just as Shikoku). It apparently took ten years in

were more *sendatsu* from Hokkaido than places such as Tohoku, that were closer to Shikoku.

Still, even nowadays, the majority of pilgrims would come from Shikoku or around (Kansai, Chūgoku). Waseda's data that as many as 18% come from Kantō is something that I cannot confirm, although my data shows more than 8% coming from there, only topped by Kyūshū, which is, arguably, nearer to Shikoku than Kantō. The percentage of pilgrims from Tōhoku still remains marginal. It can be seen that before the Second World War, the Shikoku pilgrimage was much centred on pilgrims from within or prefectures around Shikoku, whereas nowadays, pilgrims come from all over Japan.

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preparation since the idea first appeared, and the official 'start' was as recent as on 15 December 2006, as approved by the Kōyasan head administration of Shingon-*shū*, and incorporates the same clothes and items as the Shikoku pilgrimage, such as white uniform, *kongō-tsue, osame-fuda, nōkyō-chō,* etc. It also incorporates the term *dōgyō ninin* (*two are walking together*), as it was established in order to "give people living in Hokkaidō, who have their family roots in Shikoku, but cannot visit the far-away Shikoku, the possibility to complete a 88-temple pilgrimage similar to Shikoku" (pamphlet of this pilgrimage, retrieved at Shikoku temple #2, Gokuraku-ji). This is an interesting modern example of the origination of a pilgrimage route. It suggests it is a conscious copy of the Shikoku route, and also has claimed links to Kōbō Daishi, in that they write that the pilgrim is doing *dōgyō ninin* as a means to learn and practice the teachings of Kōbō Daishi, and that the pilgrim can receive blessings (お慈悲, *o-jihi*) through doing it. More information can be found at: http://www.88reijyokai.com

Appendix C: The mode of travel of pilgrims

This appendix uses data including that which was gathered during my fieldwork during 8-15 April 2008, where I briefly surveyed 1,000 pilgrims, as well as my long interactions and interviews and recordings during 24 October-1 November 2010. It shall be noted that the numbers in the statistical data that I had collected in 2008 do not always add up to 100%, as sometimes pilgrims preferred not to answer a particular question; I also rounded numbers slightly up or down, as appropriate.

Modes of doing the pilgrimage

Until the Meiji period (1868-1912), most pilgrims can be assumed to have walked it. Important works to refer to here are especially Kouamé (2001) and Reader (2005). The development after 1868 saw a change towards modernisation in the Meiji period. Trains started operating in 1899 between Tokushima and Kamojima near the River Yoshinogawa (Awa no Kōtsu no Henshū iinkai, 1991: 78). However, because of the mountainous character of Shikoku, building railroads and establishing train-stations proved very difficult, and because of the low number of people living on the island, it would also not have been profitable enough. Therefore, buses seemed to be the solution for the transportation of people, and the first bus operations in Tokushima started on October 1913 by Mr Maeda Toshiyuki, using a Ford T-Model which could be used by six passengers (78f). November 1920 saw the first taxi in Tokushima, an American *Overland* car used by *Senba Garage* company (63). With the roads slowly being improved, taxi companies increased in Tokushima: two in 1923, 6 in 1924, and seven in 1926 (64). As Takamure Itsue showed in her dictionary of 1918, pilgrims would then still usually walk around Shikoku and not take advantage of buses or taxis (trains would have been too few anyhow). Taxis were primarily used exclusive as wedding or funeral cars in Tokushima, or as taxis when Members of the Parliament visited from Tokyo or high-ranking businessmen visited companies in Tokushima (64f). In 1929, the first Tokushima public city bus started operating, which was very cheap, and which subsequently caused a drop of fares of the taxi companies; this consequently led to more customers using taxis, and therefore an increase of taxis: in 1934, 45 taxis were counted in Tokushima city and another 124 operating outside the prefecture capital (68). The Second World War saw the confiscation of gasoline that was used to fuel taxis and buses, and all drivers were drafted into the army as drivers as early as April 1938. Due to these reasons, only three taxi companies were operating after the Second World War (91).

The Post-War economic growth of Japan is legendary, leading to the famous ‘bubble economy’ in the 80s (Country-Data.com, 1994: URL). Public spending was increased, resulting in, for example, modernising (through asphalting) or constructing of new roads, bridges and so forth. In particular, bridges connecting Shikoku with the mainland and National Roads (*kokudō*) were constructed throughout the island. Personal incomes increased, too, and with this the desire to travel around Japan, using the better roads, driving in ‘my car’ and having more money at hand to spend. Consequently, the proportion of pilgrims who walked rather than used motorised transport dropped step-by-step after the Second World War, and that of those using motorisation, be it by one’s own car, or buses, or taxis, rose, and, I assume, more and more pilgrims cut the pilgrimage into small, manageable parts (*kugiri-uchi*), done motorized.

The largest change in the pilgrimage after the Second World War is the development and implementation of the first package bus-tour. Osada, Sakata and Seki’s sociological study of the pilgrimage states that the bus-tour led to the post-war pilgrimage-boom (and that the second boom – that of the 21st century – is initiated by, and sustained through, internet-technology) (2003: 463)[517]. This bus-tour is of utmost importance, because, as the deputy head priest of temple #65, Sankaku-ji, explained to me[518], his temple, as well as many others which were located on a mountain and thus difficult to access, were, according to what his grandfather had told him, very poor (he used the words “*bimbo-dera*”, which is difficult to translate but similar to “*dirt poor temple*”) and would have actually ceased to exist if it would not have been for Iyo-Tetsu’s bus tours and the constant money that the package groups brought – and still bring – to the temple. So, in his opinion, Iyo Tetsu saved his temple. This came about as follows.

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[517] They also reproduce a pamphlet from 1998, advertising an helicopter-pilgrimage-tour, but I personally have never come across this.

[518] On 10 December 2009 in his *nōkyō-sho* office.

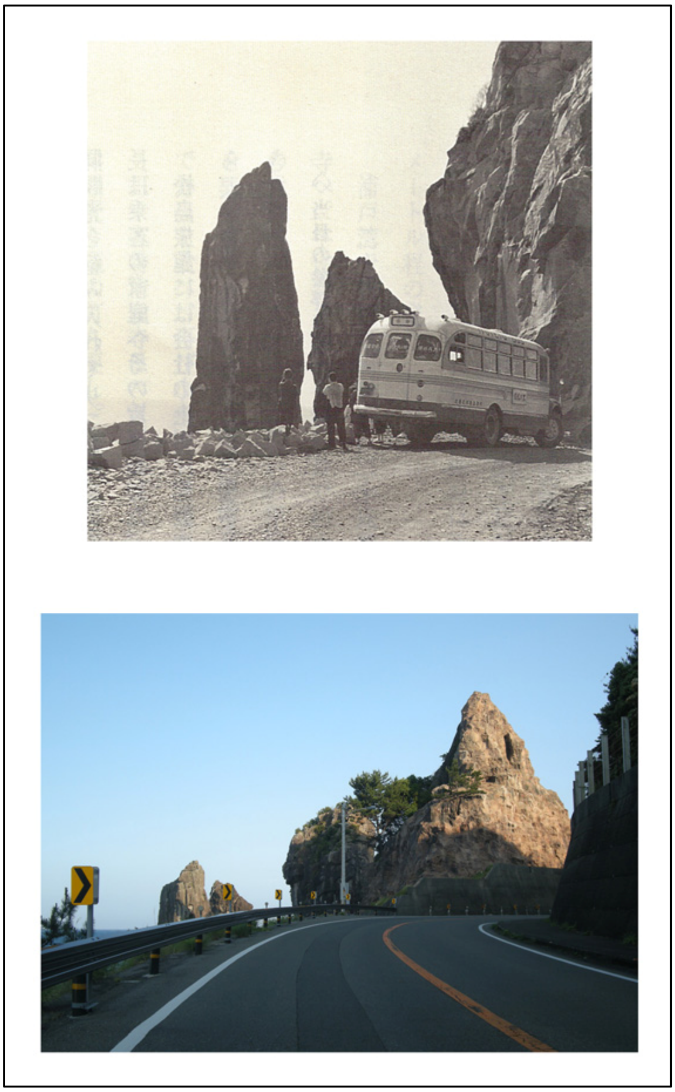

Plate 67: Development of infrastructure, such as the asphalted road: nearly the same spot, upper photograph taken by Iyo Tetsu (2003: 35) on 4 May 1953 (on the occasion of their first pilgrimage-bus tour), and below, nearly exactly 56 years later, by myself on 25 May 2009

In 1951, the government of Japan implemented the new *dōro kōtsu hō*, *Law of the Street Traffic*: until then, buses were only allowed to travel on clearly defined paths between their stops, but now buses were allowed to move freely throughout any part of Japan, so Iyo Tetsu Company started the *Iyo Kankōsha*, *Iyo Sightseeing [Bus] Company*. (Incidentally, *Iyo* is the old term for the prefecture of *Ehime*). However, at that time, there were only asphalt streets in the city centres of the major cities of Shikoku. In 1952, NHK public television started broadcasting, which began reporting on various sightseeing spots in Japan, igniting a ‘travel boom’ within Japan. At that time, office manager Nagano Hiroshi of Iyo Tetsu had the idea to start a package bus pilgrimage around Shikoku's 88 temples, which was approved by the company and this idea was then presented to, and supported by, the head priest of temple #65, Sankaku-ji, in Ehime Prefecture (located in the same Prefecture as Iyo Tetsu Company), who recommended it to Kōya-san head monastery, where it was approved by Mori Rōshi (?-1994), who was also the then-abbot of Fugen-in temple in Ehime Prefecture, and a native of Matsuyama city, where the Iyo-Tetsu Company is located. Mori later became very successful: he was appointed as the highest representative of Shingon-*shū*: *Kongōfu-ji Kanchō.*

The original plan envisaged a price tag of ¥13,600 per person for 13 nights/14 days. The average monthly wage of a salaried office worker was ¥10,071 at that time, so this was quite an expensive price tag. To compare this, in 1985 the bus tour cost ¥138,000, whereas the average monthly salary was ¥224,161, so in fact it became relatively cheaper over time, and as of May 2011, it cost ~¥198,000, whilst the average monthly income is around ¥315,000[519]; so it stayed relatively stable. They used their first bonnet bus, the most luxurious they could get, for this tour, and had it loaded with rice, in case they would have to stay at places without food, so at least they could boil rice to eat. They calculated that if 25 people would participate in this trip, they could achieve a profit. The first bus tour then started on 26 April 1953, with 24 pilgrims, 4 drivers and conductors, totalling 28 people, and it was named "Kōbō Daishi junshi Shikoku hachijūhakkasho meguri" ("*junshi* = "*mawaru*" = "circle around"), in other words, it also linguistically connected the 88 temples in Shikoku clearly with Kōbō Daishi. The course they wished to take was planned clockwise around Iyo, Sanuki, Awa, Tosa (Ehime, Kagawa, Tokushima, Kōchi), starting and finishing at Matsuyama, at the bus company's office (and not, say, in Tokushima Prefecture at temple #1): it started in Ehime Prefecture at temple #51 (not at #1) and ended at #51 (not #88).[520] (Iyo Tetsu: 2003, throughout)[521].

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[519] Retrieved on 5 May 2011: http://www.worldsalaries.org/japan.shtml.

[520] All participants came from Ehime Prefecture: 12 participants came from Matsuyama city, 6 from Niihama city, and 3 from Uwa-village; 12 female, 12 male, with the oldest was 75 years old, and the youngest 16; 8 participants were older than 70, and there were 3 couples as well as 2 families of parents with their daughters.

[521] When did the numbering from 1-88 start? When I visited the Kagawa History Museum in Takamatsu-city, Kagawa-Prefecture on 25 April 2009, Nishimura Kōichi, the head of the Museum's general affairs department, presented me with their last reprint-copy of an important Shikoku Pilgrimage map, the original of which, according to him, is the oldest Shikoku pilgrimage map. According to its inscription, this map was originally drawn by Hosada Shūei in spring of 1763, included in the *Shikoku henro michishirube shohan issatsu* (*Shikoku Pilgrimage*

Another example for this is found in the brochure of Iyo Tetsu (2009), throughout; for example page 3, their bus-tour is starting at temple #53, all the way through to #59, then #64, #63, #62, #61, #65, all the way through to #88, then #10, backwards to #1, then #17 backwards to #12, then #13, #18, #20, #19, etc.: it starts at the temple closest to the company, and then proceeds in an order that is most convenient (least time-consuming) for the bus. Similar examples are also given on page 4 in the same publication, as well as page 7, which adds a trip to the head monastery of Shingon-shū on Mount Kōya in the middle of the *henro*, and so forth. The company also offers *hitokuni meguri junpai*: *one prefecture-cut pilgrimage tours*, for each of the four prefectures of Shikoku, the order of which is left up to the individual pilgrim.

Regarding the amount of bus-pilgrims, in 1958, Iyo Tetsu gives their number as 1,377 pilgrims[522] in 48 bus-tours (5% from North-America and Hawaii, apparently native Japanese living there), 5% from Hokkaidō, 8% from Nagoya, 13% from Kansai, 7% from Middle Japan, 9% from Kyūshū, and 45% - nearly half - from Shikoku (*Gekkan Henro Henshū-bu*, 2003: 55). And as of now, Takayama[523] quoted the following numbers in my interview with him: over the last years, including 2008, there has been an average at Iyo Tetsu of 1,000 buses, carrying 30,000 pilgrims annually, so that this company currently seems to carry around a quarter of the pilgrims.

Way Sign One Small Book), and this publication dates from June 1808 by Ōsaka Shorin printing company, the name of which would indicate the place of production. The map is very detailed, and includes pictures of local attractions (such as Shrines, waterfalls, mountains, rest-huts for pilgrims, local explanations, such as a drawing of Zentsū-ji temple with the remark of this being the birthplace of Kōbō Daishi, and has the pilgrimage temples numbered from #1 to #88. It reveals that in 1763 the numbering was already firmly established, and Reader writes that the numerical order of temples had become settled in the eighteenth century (2005: 127).

[522] So, many fewer, but this publication only talks about pilgrims who used Iyo-Tetsu's buses.

[523] He is the head of the Iyo Tetsu Company's Pilgrimage Centre Department, Matsuyama-city, and I talked to him in his office about this on 28 April 2009.

Walking pilgrims: 1989 until 2008

On the one hand, the image of walking the pilgrimage is that of enjoying the beautiful nature, at one's own pace. The woman, who gave out *o-settai* in front of temple #40[524] told me that it is "a precious time when you're walking. You can also enjoy the scenery…It calms your heart, I think. I've never done the walking pilgrimage, though…The scenery doesn't always have to be gorgeous, it can be simple and still be intriguing…"[525] Note though that she has not walked the pilgrimage yet, so, though this surely holds true, she will find out that walking the pilgrimage is also the most burdensome way of doing it, physically, mentally and financially. This is what the other *o-settai* woman at temple #58 meant when she remarked[526]: "Well, it is quite a tough journey"[527]. Rev. Nagasaki Shōkyō, head priest of temple #38, told me[528], that he has seen an increase in the last years of retired couples who walk the pilgrimage, usually cutting it into manageable pieces. I talked with a female Japanese pilgrim on the 3 July 2009 via telephone, while she was on her way to temple #17, Ido-ji. Being in her early 30s, it was her first pilgrimage, and she did it clockwise, *tōshi-uchi*, for which she had planned 50 days, with a walking speed of at least 20 km per day. She would not use lodgings, such as *shukubō*, except when very exhausted (such as on this day when she chose to spend the night at a *ryokan* near the temple), in order to save money, but carried a tent with her; wherever possible, she would shop for cheap food at a supermarket. At temple #15, Kokubun-ji, she met a man, in his late 60s, who is doing the pilgrimage perpetually[529], by bicycle and also sleeping in a tent, who acted as her guide (albeit not an officially appointed *sendatsu*) for her as she was sometimes unsure about the way; they planned to travel together from temple #17 until Kōchi city, probably up to temple #30, Zenraku-ji. They planned to walk together only as long as their pace would be identical, "as soon as someone falls behind, then we split", as she put it very clearly.

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[524] On 30 October 2010.

[525] 。。。歩くと歩く目線でね、やっぱ風景が見られるから。。。自分の自由な時間とか、いうのもとれるし。。。やっぱ心がこう。。。落ち着くかないう感じはしますね、たぶんね。わたし歩いたことないんだけどね。。。だからそういう風景、。。。すてきな風景じゃなくっても、ただ、ね、そういう小さいところでもちょっといい風景もあるし。。。

[526] On 31 October 2010.

[527] As「ま、これはやっぱし、なかなかあの、大変でしょう」could be translated, as per the context of the conversation.

[528] On 23 April 2009.

[529] "… these perpetual or 'professional' pilgrims were… inherent to the henro already in 'the golden age of the Shikoku pilgrimage' during the first half of the 19th century. They may therefore be seen as a current manifestation of the traditional beggar pilgrim" (Morris, 2007: 32).

I was told this on many occasions, and this is based on practical reasons: moving in line with one's own pace, as on a marathon, is necessary. Still, Koll writes about the meaning this has for him: "As a pilgrim, one does not get wise, but egocentric. A pilgrim is always hungry, a black hole, that consumes random phenomena, in order to construct meaning. It must make sense, this endless walking. Each blister, each mosquito-stitch, each contusion must be good for something"[530]. A pilgrim from Europe that I met would sometimes suffer from the feeling of being alone, and so she sometimes talked to me on her cell-phone throughout her journey, telling me where she was or how she was doing, or I arranged accommodation for her somewhere, so as to let her feel that she was not completely alone; "'*dōgyō ninin*' (*'Two are (spiritually) walking together'*) also means 'I am by your side for support, whenever you need it'" I explained to her.

I then realized that walking the pilgrimage could become similar to *kinhin* (Skt. *caṅkrama*), as a kind of mindful walking meditation, if one would not need to check the way all the time, or be hungry for experiences... MacGregor told Kihara something similar: it is almost like "a form, of meditation - one foot in front of the other and go" (cited in Kihara, 2009: 22). Morris also experienced this: "More positively, it involves a total immersion in the walk. I was living from one step to the next. Notions of space and time changed" (2007: 32). These are experiences that are different from Koll's above 'hungry' description. In other words, engaging in the rituals at the temples is a form of religious practice, but the process of getting there through walking is, too. Then, one could also have more opportunity to appreciate the nature and scenery, as so much promoted by NHK and others. It is true, based on my experience and interviews conducted, that for walking pilgrims the way between the temples is more important, whereas for those doing it motorised, the temples themselves become the point of focus, the 'goal'. However, unless someone is constantly staying for free through *o-settai* (which is unlikely), walking the pilgrimage is the most expensive way of doing it. Iyo Tetsu is offering organised walking trips, starting at temple #75, then following it in order and clock-wise, spread over 27 such periods, over two and a half years in total.

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[530] A pamphlet by Koll about his documentary movie, received from him included in a personal letter on 1 July 2009; translated from German into English by me.

I then wanted to know how many pilgrims are walking[531]. Morris estimates 2-3,000 walking pilgrims each year, usually taking between forty and sixty days (2007: 32). According to The Japanese Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism 3,000 pilgrims are walking each year (see the above meeting conducted in May 2009).

I did some research into this at temple #1[532]. This particular temple's *nōkyō-sho* gives *o-settai* (*juzu*, incense and candles) to all pilgrims that walk, who have, in return, to leave their name and address in a book designated for this, which was started in 1989 (for example, I left my name there in 1993). This is done at the *nōkyō-sho* office, where stamping and calligraphies are done, so it can be assumed to be a reliable number. It is highly unlikely that anybody who is not actually walking would pretend to do so just in order to receive those gifts, as a walking pilgrim can usually be clearly identified, at the very least by the look of determination on the face (other accessories of a walking pilgrim, such as, for example, tent and rucksack, are left in the compound, and hiking boots are taken off before entering the *nōkyō-sho*: a peculiarity only found at this of all 88 temples); pilgrims by car look 'different' as do those by motorbike and by bicycle (their clothing is different) and bus-pilgrims do not visit the *nōkyō-sho* (as their tour conductors do it, ever since the first bus, see above). So, walking pilgrims are clearly identifiable. These are the numbers of walking pilgrims that have registered at temple #1, as retrieved by Rev. Kinoshita Tokiko and the temple's staff going through the books, and counting the numbers, which took a long time; however, because of privacy reasons, as pilgrims' names and sometimes addresses were given, I was not allowed to inspect these lists myself: Japan has over the last decade become very strict with regard to the protection of privacy and private information.

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[531] I first did the pilgrimage between April 1993 and October 1994, for the second and third time in 2007 (March and October), for the fourth time in October 2008, for the fifth time in December 2009, and for the sixth time in 2011. Of course, I would only *meet* a small proportion of those who did the pilgrimage in a year when I did it. The figures below indicate that 2-3,000 was about right for 2003-2006.

[532] On 27 April 2009.

2008:	2,800	[divided roughly into two halves, one given out at the – old – *nōkyō-sho* next to the *hon-dō* and the other at a newly established second *nōkyō-sho* next to the entrance gate].
2007:	lost	
2006:	2,361	
January:	38	(low peak month - too cold)
February:	133	
March:	333	(high season - spring temperatures in Shikoku)
April:	338	(high peak month - cherry blossom season)
May:	241	
June:	133	
July:	223	
August:	202	
September:	196	
October:	235	(high season - comfortable autumn temperatures in Shikoku)
November:	183	
December:	106	
2005:	lost[533]	
2004:	lost	
2003:	3,350	
2002:	4,175	
2001:	4,218	
2000:	1,700	
1999:	1,403	
1998:	1,261	
1997:	760	
1996:	900	
1995:	450	
1994:	500	
1993:	460	
1992:	450	
1991:	670	
1990:	240	
1989:	137	

Plotting with Origin Pro and labelling with Adobe Photoshop, the following graph was constructed, based on the above data collected:

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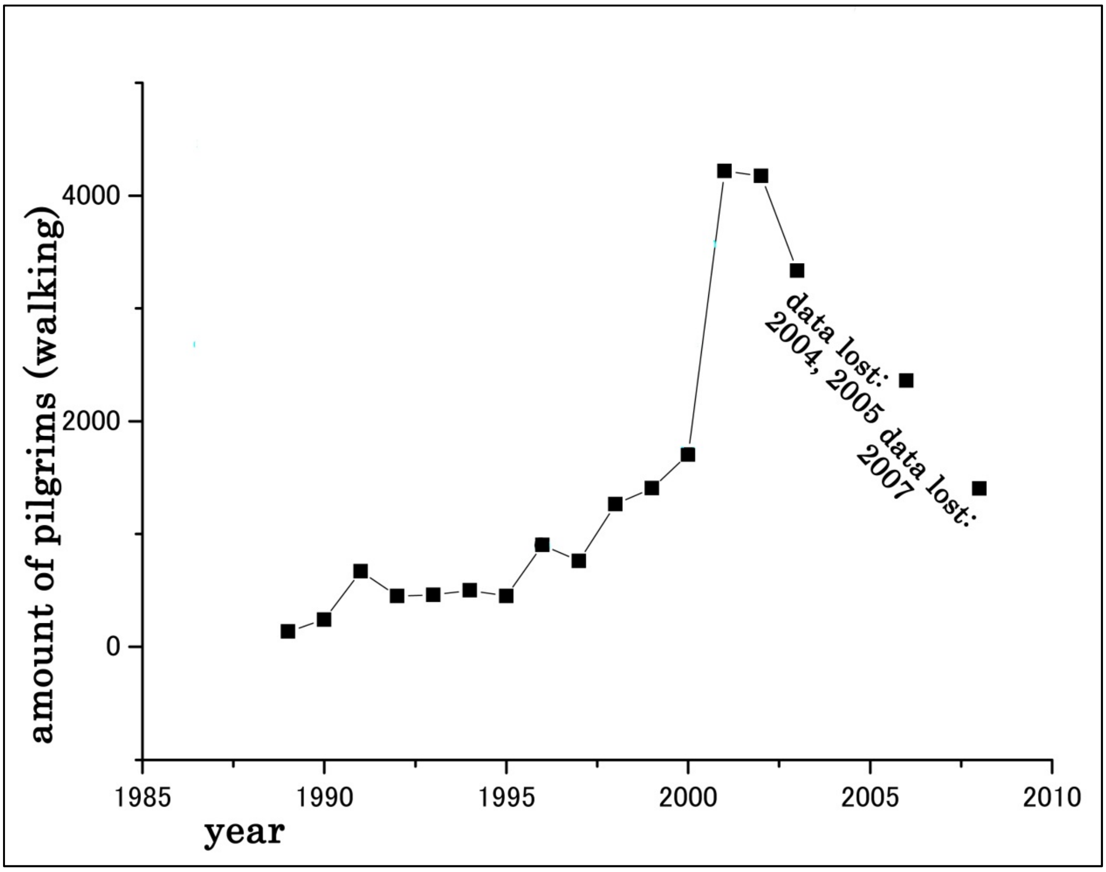
[533] According to Koll (personal e-mail communication, 19 January 2011), he was informed in 2008 about the number of walkers by a fellow pilgrim, who had received those numbers from temple #1:

2006:	2,358
2005:	2,734
2004:	3,045.



Graph 2: The amount of walking pilgrims registered at temple #1 between 1989 until 2008

A sudden rise of walking pilgrims can be seen particularly in 2001, and numbers remained high in 2002 and 2003: Temple #1 did not change its practices in 2001, and I am not aware of any relevant transport changes around then, which would have made it easier for walkers, however, NHK broadcasted a successful series during 2002, *Kūkai no fūkei*, *The Landscape of Kūkai*, and this might be the reason why there was an increase of pilgrims who wished to experience this landscape – and the best way to do this is walking. However, the total amount of pilgrims seemed to have been stable: as stated above, the number of stamps given out at #1's *nōkyō-sho* were in 2008 as well as in 2007: 120,000, and before that constantly 100,000. It can also be seen that recently, the number of walking pilgrims has decreased by slightly more than 16%: from 3,350 in 2003 to 2,800 in 2008.

As mentioned above, the Japanese Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism estimates that around 3,000 pilgrims are walking annually. This number could be correct, if one takes into account that temple #1 gives the number 3,350 as those having registered at their temple as walkers in 2003 (from around 100,000 pilgrims in total having received their seals there), this making their an annual average of 3.35%, and, taking 120,000, as reported by temple #1 as the total of pilgrims per year in 2007 and 2008, these walking pilgrims would then account of 2.5% (3,000 walkers, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism) or 2.3% (2,800 walkers, temple #1). From the figures of 3.32%, 2.5% and 2.3%, an average would be that slightly more than 2.7% of all pilgrims walked in the recent few years.

Appendix D: List of temples in alphabetical order

Aizen-in 愛染院: *okunoin* of temple #3, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: sitting Fudō Myōō.

Anraku-ji 安楽時: *okunoin* of temple #30 see Zenraku-ji vs. Anraku-ji at note 136 on page 101, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*.

Anraku-ji 安楽寺: temple #6, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, shown to the public.

Benzaiten 弁財天: *okunoin* of temple #18, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Benzaiten.

Butsumoku-ji 仏木寺: temple #42, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, honzon: Dainichi *Nyorai, hibutsu.*

Byōdō-ji 平等寺: temple #22, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Chikurin-ji 竹林寺: temple #31, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Chizan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Monju *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Chōfuku-ji 長福寺: *okunoin* of temple #66, geographically in Tokushima-Prefecture, but assigned to Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*.

Daikō-ji 大興寺, also called Komatsuo-ji 小松尾寺: temple #67, in Kagawa-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu* except every 60 years, last time shown was in 1960, next time will be in 2020.

Dainichi-ji 大日寺: temple #13, in Tokushima-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Daikakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu, hibutsu*.

Dainichi-ji 大日寺: temple #28, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Chizan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Dainichi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Dainichi-ji 大日寺: temple #4, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Dainichi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu*.

Daizen-ji 大善寺: *bekkaku* temple #5, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *Honzon*: Kōbō Daishi.

Dōgaku-ji 童学寺: *bekkaku* temple #2, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*.

Dōryū-ji 道隆寺: temple #77, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daigo-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu* except every 50 years, last time shown was in 1980, next time will be in 2030.

Eifuku-ji: 栄福寺: temple #57, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Eitoku-ji 永徳寺, also called Toyoga-bashi 十夜ケ橋: *bekkaku* temple #8, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Miroku *Bosatsu*.

Emmei-ji 延命寺: temple #54, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Fudō *Myōō*, *hibutsu*.

Emmyō-ji 円明寺: temple #53, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Chizan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu*.

Enkō-ji 円光寺: temple #39, in Kōchi-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Chizan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Enmei-ji 延命寺, also called Izari-matsu イザリ松: *bekkaku* temple #12, s*hūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Enmei (longevity) Jizō *Bosatsu*.

Enmyō-ji okunoin 圓明寺奥の院: *okunoin* of temple #53, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Fuji-dera 藤井寺: temple #11, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Rinzai-Zen, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu*.

Funaoka-dō 船岡堂: *okunoin* of temple #31, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *honzon*: sitting Fudō Myōō.

Gohyaku Rakan 五百羅漢: *okunoin* of temple #5, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Shaka *Nyorai*.

Gokuraku-ji 極楽寺: temple #2, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Gōshō-ji 郷照寺: temple #78, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Ji-shū, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu* except for at major ceremonies of the temple.

Gyokusen-ji 玉泉寺: *okunoin* of temple #87, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Nichikiri Jizō *Bosatsu*.

Hagiwara-ji 萩原寺: *bekkaku* temple #16, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daikakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Hibuse (fire extinguishing) Jizō *Bosatsu*.

Hanta-ji 繁多: temple #50, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*:

Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Hashikura-ji 箸蔵寺: *bekkaku* temple #15, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Konpira-Daigongen[534] .

Hōju-ji 宝寿寺: temple #62, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu, hibutsu.*

Hōrin-ji 法輪寺: temple #9, in Tokushima-Prefecture *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Resting Shaka *Nyorai, hibutsu*.

Hoshi no Iwaya 星の岩屋: *okunoin* of temple #19, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Hotsu-Misaki-ji 最御崎寺: also called 東寺 *Higashi-dera*, temple #24, in Kōchi-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Kokūzō *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Ichinomiya-ji 一宮寺: temple #83, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Shō Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Ichiya konryū no Iwaya 一夜建立の岩屋: *okunoin* of temple #24, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *honzon*: Nyoirin Kannon *Bosatsu*.

Ido-ji 井戸寺: temple #17, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, shown to the public.

Ishite-ji 石手寺: temple # 51, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, shown to the public.

Iwamoto-ji 岩本寺: temple #37, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Chizan-ha Shingon, 5 *honzon*: Fudō *Myōō*, Amida *Nyorai*, Yakushi *Nyorai*, Kannon *Bosatsu*, Jizō *Bosatsu,* all *hibutsu.*

Iwaya-ji 岩屋寺: temple #45, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Fudō Myōō, *hibutsu.*

Iyadani Kannon 弥谷観音: *okunoin* of temple #22, *honzon*: Nyoirin Kannon *Bosatsu*.

Iyadani-ji 矢谷寺: temple #71, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu, hibutsu*.

Jigen-ji 慈眼寺: *bekkaku* temple #3, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *Shūha*: Kōyasan

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[534] 金毘羅大権現: Half a Shintō *kami* (originating in the Hindu *kumbhira* crocodile-god) and half a Buddhist deity; this is a guardian deity of the Seto Inland Sea and the sea- and fishermen. The Konpira-san Shinto Shrine in Kagawa, near temple #7, Zentsū-ji, is the centre of his worship in Japan.

Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Jigen-ji 慈眼寺: *okunoin* of temple #14, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Jigen-ji 慈眼寺: *okunoin* of temple #20, also *bekkaku* # 3, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Jinne-in 神恵院: temple # 68, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daikakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: *Kakejiku*-painting of Amida *Nyorai*, not shown to the public.

Jizō-ji 地蔵寺: *okunoin* of temple #86, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Monju *Bosatsu*.

Jizō-ji 地蔵寺: temple #5, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jizō *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Jōdo-ji 浄土寺: temple #49, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Shaka *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Jōfuku-ji 常福寺, also called Tsubaki-dō 椿堂: *bekkaku* temple #14, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Enmei (longevity) Jizō *Bosatsu*.

Jōraku-ji 常楽寺: temple #14, in Tokushima-Prefecture *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Miroku *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Jōruri-ji 浄瑠璃寺: temple #46, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Jūbu-ji 鷲峰寺: *okunoin* of temple #82, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Shaka *Nyorai*.

Jūraku-ji 十楽寺: temple #7, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu*.

Kaigan-ji 海岸寺: *bekkaku* temple #18, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daigo-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Sei Kannon *Bosatsu* and Kōbō Daishi Tanjōbutsu (as a baby).

Kakurin-ji 鶴林寺: temple #20, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Jizō *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Kanjizai-ji 観自在寺: temple #40, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daikakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, not shown to the public except every 50 years; the last time was 1984, the next time will be 2034.

Kanno-ji 神野寺: *bekkaku* temple #17, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*.

Kanon-ji 観音寺: temple #16, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Kanon-ji 観音寺: temple #69, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daikakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Shō Kannon *Bosatsu, hibutsu.*

Kirihata-ji 切幡寺: temple #10, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Kisshō-ji 吉祥寺: temple #63, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Tōji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Bishamonten, *hibutsu*, except once every 60 years, last time shown in 1978, next will be in 2038.

Kiyotaki-ji 清滝寺: temple #35, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Kokubun-ji 国分寺: temple #29, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Chizan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Kokubun-ji 国分寺: In 741, Emperor Shōmu had ordered Kokubun-ji temples to be built in each Prefecture in Japan.

Kokubun-ji 国分寺: temple #15, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Sōtō-Zen, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu*.

Kokubun-ji 国分寺: temple #59, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Shingon Ritsu, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai, hibutsu* except once every 33 years; last time shown was in 1984, next time will be 2017.

Kokubun-ji 国分寺: temple #80, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen-Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Kongōchō-ji 金剛頂寺, also called 西寺 *Nishi-dera*: temple #26, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha,* Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi Nyorai, *hibutsu* except once a year during January for the New Year's celebration.

Kongōfuku-ji 金剛福寺: temple #38, in Kōchi-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu* but shown to the public whenever the head priest deems appropriate.

Konji-ji 建治寺: *okunoin* of temple #13, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Kongō

Zaō-Daigongen[535].

Kōnome-ji 神峰寺: temple #27, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Konsen-ji 金泉寺: temple #3, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon *honzon*: Shaka *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Konzō-ji 金倉寺: temple #76, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Tendai, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu* except one a year during New Year's celebrations.

Kōōn-ji 香園寺: temple #61, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Dainichi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Kōryū-ji 興隆寺: *bekkaku* temple #10, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daigo-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Kōyama-ji 甲山寺: temple # 74, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai, hibutsu.*

Kōzai-ji 香西寺: *bekkaku* temple #19, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daigakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Enmei (longevity) Jizō *Bosatsu.*

Kumandani-ji 熊谷寺: temple #8, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Kurotaki-ji 黒滝寺: *okunoin* of temple #21, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Maegami-ji 前神寺: temple #64, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Ishizuchi-zan Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Mandara-ji 曼荼羅寺: temple #72, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Dainichi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Manishu-in 摩尼珠院: *okunoin* of temple #79, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Fudō-son.

Meiseiki-ji 明石寺: temple #43, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Tendai, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Monju-in 文殊院: *bekkaku* temple #9, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daigo-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jizō *Bosatsu* and Monju *Bosatsu*.

Motoyama-ji 本山寺: temple #70, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon,

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[535] 金剛蔵王大権現: Another *gongen*. He is believed to be a manifestation of Fudō Myōō. One of the major deities of Shugendō.

honzon: Batō Kannon *Bosatsu* with an angry face, *hibutsu.*

Myōon-ji 妙音寺: *okunoin* of temple #70, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*.

Nagao-ji 長尾寺: temple #87, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Tendai, *honzon*: Shō Kannon *Bosatsu, hibutsu.*

Nankō-bō 南光坊: temple #55, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Daitsūchishō *Nyorai*, *hibutsu*, but shown to the public every 50 years; last time was 2005, next time will be 2055.

Negoro-ji 根香寺: temple #82, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Tendai*, honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu* except for once in every 33 years or so, the last time it was shown in 2003, the next time it is planned to be in 2038.

Ōkubo-ji 大窪寺: temple #88, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daikakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Oku-maegami-ji 奥前神寺: *okunoin* of temple #64, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Ishizuchi-Daigongen[536].

Onzan-ji 恩山寺: temple # 18, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

O-seriwari-hakusangyōba おせり割・白山行場: *okunoin* of temple #45, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Hakusan-Daigongen[537].

Ōtaki-ji 大瀧寺: *bekkaku* temple #20, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Nishiteru-Daigongen[538] .

Ryōzen-ji 霊山寺: temple #1, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Shaka Nyorai, *hibutsu.*

Ryūkō-in 龍光院: *okunoin* of temple #40, also *bekkaku* #6, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Ryūkō-in 龍光院: *bekkaku* temple #6, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha* Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*.

Ryūkō-ji 龍光寺: temple #41, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, shown to the public.

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[536] 石鎚大権現. Related to 'sacred' Mount Ishizuchi (see also pages 247-248 and plate 3 on page 37).

[537] 白山大権現: Believed to be a Shinto manifestation of the Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*.

[538] 西照大権現: Sitting in meditation; believed to be presented to the temple by Kōbō Daishi.

Ryūsen-ji 龍泉寺: *okunoin* of temple #56, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Sairin-ji 西林寺: temple #48, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Sankaku-ji 三角寺: temple #65, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai, hibutsu.*

Sekkei-ji 雪蹊寺: temple #33, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Rinzai Zen, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Senryū-ji 仙龍寺: *okunoin* of temple #65, also *bekkaku* #13, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Kōbō Daishi.

Senryū-ji 仙龍寺: *bekkaku* temple #13, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daikaku-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Kōbō Daishi.

Senyū-ji 仙遊寺: temple #58, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu, hibutsu.*

Shashingatake Zenjō 捨身ヶ嶽禅定: *okunoin* of temple #73, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Kōbō Daishi.

Shido-ji 志度寺: temple #86, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha:* Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu* except once a year on 16 July.

Shinshō-ji 津照寺: also called 津寺 *Tsu-dera*, temple #25, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jizō *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Shiramine-ji 白峯寺: temple #81, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Shirataki 白滝: *okunoin* of temple #61, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Shirataki Fudō Myōō.

Shishi no Iwaya 獅子の岩屋: *okunoin* of temple #71, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *honzon*: Yakuyoke Daishi.

Shōryū-ji okunoin 青竜寺の奥の院, *okunoin* of temple #36, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *honzon*: Namikiri sitting Fudō Myōō.

Shōryū-ji 清竜寺: temple #36, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Fudō *Myōō*, *hibutsu.*

Shōzan-ji 焼山寺: temple #12, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Kokūzō *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Shōzen-ji 正善寺, also called Ikiki-Jizō 生木地蔵: *bekkaku* temple #11, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Jizō *Bosatsu*.

Shushō-ji 取星寺: *okunoin* of temple #19, in Tokushima-Prefecture, two *honzon*: Myōken *Bosatsu* and Kokūzō *Bosatsu*.

Shusseki-ji 出石寺: *bekkaku* temple #7, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*.

Shusshaka-ji 出釈迦寺: temple #73, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Imuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Shaka *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Taihō-ji 大宝寺: temple #44, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Tairyū-ji 太龍寺: temple # 21, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Kokūzō *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*, but shown once every year on 12 January.

Taisan-ji okunoin 太山寺奥の院, *okunoin* of temple #52, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu.*

Taisan-ji 大山寺: *bekkaku* temple #1, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daigon-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*.

Taisan-ji 太山寺: temple #52, in Ehime-Prefecture, *shūha*: Chizan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu*.

Taisan-ji 泰山寺: temple #56, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Daigo-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jizō-*Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Taisen-ji 泰仙寺: *okunoin* of temple #23, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Nyoirin Kannon *Bosatsu*.

Tanema-ji 種間寺: temple #34, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai, hibutsu.*

Tatsue-ji 立江寺: temple #19, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Jizō-*Bosatsu*, shown to the public.

Tennō-ji 天皇寺: temple #79, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu* except once a year in August for the *daihannya-kuyō*-Ceremony.

Tōrin-in 東林院 also called Tanemaki-Taishi 種蒔大師: *okunoin* of temple #1, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Tanemaki-Taishi.

Tsumebari Yakushi 爪彫り薬師: *okunoin* of temple #28, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*.

Unpen-ji 雲辺寺: temple #66, geographically in Tokushima-Prefecture, but assigned to Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Senju Kannon *Bosatsu, hibutsu.*

Ushi no Mine Jizō-dō 牛之峰地蔵堂: *okunoin* of temple #49, in Ehime-Prefecture, *honzon*: Jizō *Bosatsu*.

Yakuō-ji 薬王寺: temple #23, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Yakuri-ji 八栗寺: temple #85, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Daikakuji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Shō Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Yaoi no Jizō 矢負いの地蔵: *okunoin* of temple #37, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *honzon*: Yaoi Jizō.

Yasaka-dera 八坂寺, also called Saba-Daishi (short for: Saba-Daishi-hon-bō 鯖大師本坊): *bekkaku* temple #4, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *shūha*: Kōyasan Shingon, *honzon*: Kōbō Daishi.

Yasaka-ji 八坂寺: temple # 47, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Daigo-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu*, but shown to the public every 50 years; last time shown in 1984, next will be in 2034.

Yashima-ji 屋島寺: temple #84, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen-Senju Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Yokomine-ji 横峰寺: temple #60, in Ehime-Prefecture, s*hūha*: Omuro-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Dainichi *Nyorai*, *hibutsu* except once every 33 years or so; the last time shown was in 1999, next time will be in 2059.

Zaō Daigongen 蔵王大権現: *okunoin* of temple #12, in Tokushima-Prefecture, *honzon*: Zaō-Daigongen.

Zenjibu-ji 禅師峰寺: temple #32, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Jūichimen Kannon *Bosatsu*, *hibutsu.*

Zenraku-ji 善楽寺: temple # 30, in Kōchi-Prefecture, *shūha*: Buzan-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Amida *Nyorai*, *hibutsu.*

Zentsū-ji 善通寺: temple # 75, in Kagawa-Prefecture, *shūha*: Zentsūji-ha Shingon, *honzon*: Yakushi *Nyorai*, shown to the public.

Glossary

Accommodation for pilgrims: see *ekiroji, shukubō*, *tsuyado*, *zenkonyado*.

Awa no kuni 阿波の国: now Tokushima-Prefecture. Also the first *dōjō*, 発心の道場 *hosshin no dōjō*, the *dōjō* of awakening and strengthening the aspiration to attain ultimate enlightenment.

Awa-ben 阿波弁: the dialect spoken in Tokushima-Prefecture.

Bandō-sanjūsan-kannon junrei 坂東三十三観音巡礼: The *Bandō* (Kantō) *33-Kannon Pilgrimage.*

bangai 番外: a temple that is not a member of the '88' or a *bekkaku*, but still often visited by pilgrims.

bekkaku 別格: a temple that belongs to a group of 20 temples that have united as a *bekkaku-junrei*, *bekkaku pilgrimage*, bringing the total of pilgrimage temples to: 88 + 20 = 108, which has a special meaning in Buddhism. Established in 1969, it uses similar items and accessory as the 88-temple pilgrimage.

bonji 梵字: mysterious acts of mind: Shingon-meditation: visualizations of holy images, particularly *bonji* (Skt. *bīja*); for example, Yakushi *Nyorai* is attributed with the seed-syllable *BHAI*; Shaka *Nyorai* with *BHAḤ*; Jizō *Bosatsu* with *HA*, and Fudō *Myōō* with *HĀṂ*. Shingon teaches that these symbols contain the compressed essence of the deity: its virtues, teachings, qualities and personality. Furthermore, these symbols can also be seen as a summary of the *mantra* of the deity. See *sanmitsu.*

bussoku-seki 仏足石: a stone with the Buddha's footprint engraved in it.

butsu-en 仏縁 : akin to 'good fate' or 'good karma'.

byakushi-butsu 辟支佛: *pratyeka-buddha,* a solitary, self-enlightened Buddha, who arises when there is no teaching of a Buddha in the world.

Byōbuga-ura 屏風ヶ浦: a place in Tado County in Sanuki, Shikoku, where Kūkai is believed to have been born.

Chichibu-sanjūyon-kannon junrei 秩父三十四観音巡礼: The *Chichibu* (Saitama) *34-Kannon Pilgrimage* .

chōmei-sugi 長命杉: *longevity cedar* of temple #2.

chū-sendatsu 中先達: third level *sendatsu*.

dai-sendatsu 大先達: fifth level *sendatsu.*

Daishi shinkō 大師信仰: the faith in Kōbō Daishi.

daishi-dō 大師堂: daishi-hall, where a statue of Kōbō Daishi enshrined. Pilgrims usually make offerings in front of it.

Daishi-*sama*: honorific term for Kōbō Daishi, often used by those with *Daishi-shinkō*.

daishi-zō 大師像: statue of Kōbō Daishi, enshrined in the *daishi-dō.*

danka: 檀家: temple parishioners.

Dōgo Onsen 道後温泉: area famous for hot springs in Matsuyama, Ehime.

dōgyō ninin 同行二人: *Two are (spiritually) walking together.*

ekiroji 駅路寺*: road-side-temple.* As early as in 1598, Hachisuka Iemasu (1558-1638), the Lord of Awa, was the first to establish eight temples in his domain where pilgrims could receive free accommodation and meals.

Emon Saburō 衛門三郎: a man who is pictured in folk tales as the first person to have repeatedly circled around Shikoku.

Four-*dōjō* 四道場: Shikoku is commonly, such as in pilgrimage maps, magazines and guidebooks, divided into four ordered phases of spiritual development of the pilgrim. Tokushima is labelled as 発心の道場 *hosshin no dōjō*: *the dōjō of (awakening and strengthening) the resolution to attain ultimate enlightenment*; Kōchi is 修行の道場 *shugyō no dōjō*: *the dōjō of religious discipline*; Ehime is 菩提の道場 *bodai no dōjō*: *the dōjō of enlightenment* (which might still need to be deepened); Kagawa is 涅槃の道場 *nehan no dōjō*: the *dōjō of (entering into) nehan* (*nirvāṇa*). See also *Awa*, *Tosa*, *Iyo*, *Sanuki no kuni*.

fuda-basami 札ばさみ (also nowadays called *osame-fuda-ire* 納札入れ): a small box that is hung around the pilgrim's neck, containing the *osame-fuda* slips. Modern ones are made out of plastic (to better protect against the rain), whilst in past times, these were made out of wood.

fudaraku 補陀落 (Skt. Potalaka): is the name of the paradise where Kannon *Bosatsu* (Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva*) is believed to reside.

gasshō 合掌: Buddhist sign of salutation and reverence by joining the palms of one's hands.

genrō dai-sendatsu 元老大先達: eighth level *sendatsu*.

genze-riyaku 現世利益: 'this-worldly benefits' or 'benefits in the present life'.

gobyō 御廟: mausoleum of Kūkaiūkai in the compound of the Okunoin-temple 奥ノ院 of Mount Kōya.

go-eika ご詠歌: traditional temple's hymn, praising the *honzon*.

goko-shō 五鈷杵: five-pointed *vajra*, as traditionally held by Kōbō Daishi.

goma-ceremony 護摩 (Skt. *homa*): fire-ceremony

gonchū-sendatsu 権中先達: second level *sendatsu.*

gondai-sendatsu 権大先達: *fourth level sendatsu.*

Great East Japan Earthquake 東日本大震災, *Higashi Nihon Daishinsai*: on 11 March 2011.

Great Hanshin Earthquake 阪神大震災, *Hanshin Daishinsai:* on17 January 1995.

gumonji no hō: *see Kokuzō gumonji no hō.*

gyaku-uchi 逆打ち: doing the pilgrimage anti-clockwise. Many locals of Shikoku also call it *saka-uchi*, such as Mr Ozaki in his life-pilgrimage interview. Both terms have the same meaning.

Gyōki *Bosatsu* 行基菩薩: (668 (670?) -749). Famous priest of the Hossō-*shū*. He is related to the Shikoku pilgrimage because he is traditionally believed to have established many temples and carved many *honzon*.

Hachijūhakkasho: see *Shikoku hachijūhakkasho junrei*.

haibutsu kishaku 廃仏毀釈: Eradicate Buddhism and Destroy the Buddhas! Suppression of Buddhism in favour of Shinto-movement, initiated by the Meiji (1868-1912)-government; lasted between 1868 and ca. 1872.

haka-sho 墓所: literally *grave-(holy)places*; temples which are believed to have a specially strong connection to the dead, such as temple #71.

hakue 白衣: pilgrim's white jacket, representing purity and death and symbolising the acceptance of death at any time during the pilgrimage.

handai 判代: fees to be paid by the pilgrims to the temples for their stamps and seals.

Hannya-Shingyō sūtra 般若心経: the *Heart Sūtra*. Most important *sūtra* in Japanese Buddhism.

Heijo-Tennō 平城天皇 (also known as Heizei Tennō, 773- 5 August 824): 51st Emperor of Japan. Believed to have ordered Kōbō Daishi in 815 to re-establish Yakuō-ji (temple #23) as both had been in their *yakudoshi* then.

henro goya 遍路小屋: *small* henro *hut* for pilgrims, with a bench, toilet, and a washbasin, to take a rest or stay overnight.

henro michi 遍路道: pilgrimage path.

henro omotenashi taishi, 遍路おもてなし大使: *Pilgrimage Hospitality Ambassador Certificates*, to recognize those who support pilgrims. Issued by *henro to omotenashi no nettowāku.*

henro taishi, 遍路大使 *Pilgrimage Ambassador Certificates*: to recognize those who have completed the pilgrimage by foot. Issued by *henro to omotenashi no nettowāku.*

henro to omotenashi no nettowāku, 遍路とおもてなしのネットワーク: *Pilgrimage Hospitality Network*, located in Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture.

henro-utsu 遍路鬱: pilgrimage-depression.

Henro 遍路: Shikoku pilgrim or pilgrimage. People of Shikoku often use the more polite *o-henro-san.*

hibutsu 秘仏, literally *secret Buddha*: A statue (not just of a Buddha) that is locked away and thus not shown to the public.

higaeri 日帰り *day-return*: Cutting the pilgrimage into sections done in a day.

hōin 法印 (Skt. *mudrā*): Mysterious acts of body: performing, esoteric hand-gestures. *See sanmitsu*.

hōjō 方丈: traditional term for the living quarters of the head priest.

Hokkaidō hachijūhakkasho junrei 北海道: The most promoted recent “copy”-88-temple pilgrimage; it is located in Hokkaidō.

hon-dō 本堂: main hall, where the *honzon* is enshrined. Pilgrims usually make offerings in front of it.

honji-butsu 本地仏: Buddhas ‘incarnated’ in Shinto *kami*.

honji-suijaku 本地衰弱: *honji* = lit. *original ground*, *suijaku* = lit. *trace*, meaning that Buddhist deities are the *honji* (in other words, their true form and substance) of the Shinto *kami*, and the *kami* are the *suijaku* (in other words, the form appearing in the world to save sentient beings) of the Buddhist deities.

honzon 本尊: statue of the chief deity of a temple, enshrined in the *hon-dō*.

hotoke 仏: a Buddha, also a deceased ancestor.

ihai 位牌: memorial plates of the deceased.

ikkoku-mairi 一国参り: *one-country pilgrimage*: cutting the pilgrimage by visiting the temples in one Prefecture.

Iyo no kuni 伊予の国: now Ehime-Prefecture. Also the third *dōjō*, 菩提の道場 *satori no dōjō*, the *dōjō* of (gaining) enlightenment (which might still require to be deepened).

Iyo-Tetsu 伊予鉄: A company in Matsuyama that started the package-bus pilgrimage in 1953.

izari-guruma イザリ車: (crippled person's cart. See Byōdō-ji (temple #22).

izari-matsu イザリ松: *the pine tree of the crippled.* See Enmei-ji (*bekkaku* temple #12).

jikatabi 地下足袋: traditional white light walking split-toe shoes. Seldom worn by pilgrims anymore, as they are not comfortable when walking on paved roads due to their thin sole.

jingū-ji 神宮寺: shrine-temple.

jirei 持鈴: small portable bell for the pilgrim, hung around the waist, and making a sound while walking. It is made in the shape of the ritual bell used by Shingon patriarchs, with the five-pointed *vajra* at the top of the grip. The custom for this originally derived from the need to make sharp, high-pitched sounds in order to frighten away the many poisonous snakes (see *mamushi*).

Ji-*shū* 時宗: founded by Ippen-shōnin (1239-1289), it is a form of Jōdō-*shū* [Pure Land Buddhism, founded by Ennin (793-864); another school is Jōdō-shin-*shū*, founded by Shinran (1173-1262)]. Temple #78, Gōshō-ji, belongs to Ji-*shū*.

jō 定: meditation, eternal *samādhi.*

jūjū shin ron 十住心論, the *Ten Stages of the Mind*: a work by Kōbō Daishi, completed in 830.

juntokunin dai-sendatsu 準特任大先達: sixth level *sendatsu.*

jun-uch i 順打ち: doing the pilgrimage clockwise.

juzu 数珠 (Skt. *mālā*): rosary beads. It is generally said that the 108 beads refer to the 108 *bonnō* 煩悩 (Skt. *kleśa*), whilst, according to Saunders (1960: 174) their number 108 also refers to the 108 divinities in the *kongō-kai maṇḍala*.

kaigen-shiki 開眼式: 'eye-opening-ceremony'. A Buddhist statue, when it is going to be installed in a temple, will become 'alive' through this ceremony.

kaimyō 戒名: *dharma* name; posthumous Buddhist (monk's) name. It was bestowed upon nobles and aristocrats, including samurai, thus posthumously becoming ordained as a monk. 'Ordinary' people were generally not granted such a name in the past, but now are. See *kako-chō* (such as of Gokuraku-ji temple #2).

kakejiku 掛け軸: hanging scrolls. The *pilgrimage-kakejiku* is a scroll on which the pilgrim collects the calligraphies and seals of the 88 temples (and also sometimes that of the Okunoin on Mount Kōya).

kako-chō 過去帳: literally *past* (as opposite of 'present') *note* death registry. See *kaimyō.*

kami 神: Shinto deity.

kanchō 管長: a term created by the Meiji government, the *chief abbot of a sect*.

kendō 県道: *Prefectural Route*.

kōban 交番: small neighbourhood police station.

Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (774-835): 'The Great Teacher Who Spreads the *Dharma* Widely'. Posthumous name for Kūkai, and for many the 'centre' of this pilgrimage. Regarded as resting at his mausoleum *gobyō* in the compound of Okunoin-temple of Mount in what is referred to as *nyūjō* (eternal adamantine meditation).

kokudō 国道: *National Road*.

kokuhō 国宝: national treasures.

kokuzō gumonji no hō 虚空蔵求聞持法, *Morning Star Meditation*: a ritual esoteric practice, devoted to the deity Kokuzō *Bosatsu* (Ākāśa-garbha *Bodhisattva*), which Mao had tried, aged 19, unsuccessfully, near temple #21, Tairyū-ji, and then successfully at what is called Mikuro-dō near temple #24, Hotsumisaki-ji, both located in Awa (Tokushima Prefecture). See Mikuro-dō.

kongō-tsue 金剛杖, 'Diamond stick', *vajra*-stick': a wooden stick used by pilgrims, symbolising Kōbō Daishi.

kugiri-uchi 区切り打ち: doing the pilgrimage in parts.

Kūkai 空海: see Kōbō Daishi.

kuyō 供養(Skt. *pūjanā*): originally meaning ‘veneration (for the three jewels)’ (Buddha, *Dharma*, *Sangha*). In Japan, it means ‘memorialising’, i.e. commemorating, the dead – bearing them in mind and expressing respect and honour. *Kuyō* also means the official memorial services conducted by priests for the dead at the temple or at the home altar of the family.

kyahan 脚絆: traditional white leg-wrappings.

maebutsu 前仏: a copy of the *hibutsu* which is placed in front of it.

manjū 饅頭: traditional Japanese sweets.

Mannō-ike 満濃池: a dam that was repaired by Kūkai in 821 in Kagawa

Mantra: see *shingon.*

michishirube 道しるべ: stone-markers to guide pilgrims.

miei-chō 御影帳: a book for *osugata* (*miei*)-slips. Normally called *miei*, these slips are also often called *osugata* on Shikoku Island. The pilgrim receives such slips as a memorial, with an illustration of the *honzon* of that temple printed on it.

miei-dō 御影堂: Michitaka translates this as *a House of the Venerable Shadow* (2011: 11). At Zentsū-ji (temple #75) it houses statues of Kūkai and his family.

Mikkyō 密教 *secret teaching*: Esoteric Buddhism as found in Japan in the Shingon-*shū* and Tendai-*shū*.

Mikuro-dō 御蔵洞: see *Kokuzō gumonji no hō*

mudrā: *see hōin*.

nakayoshi 仲良し: to become friendly with each other. Used in the thesis as the bond that sometimes forms between pilgrims.

Namu Daishi Henjō Kongō 南無大師遍照金剛 *Homage to the Saviour Daishi, the Illuminating and Imperishable One*! (Miyata, 1984: 33): the *mantra* of Kōbō Daishi.

nansho 難所: a temple that is particularly difficult to reach, such as at high elevation, and as such said to be good for religious practice.

Naruto no uzushio 鳴門の渦潮: the *Naruto whirlpools.*

nenki 年忌: Anniversary ceremonies of the death of a person, usually held on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 17th, 23rd, 27th, 33rd, 37th, 50th, 100th anniversaries.

NHK: The public Japan Broadcasting Corporation.

nōkyō-chō 納経帳: a book, in which the stamps/seals and calligraphies of all temples are collected.

nōkyō-sho 納経所: a facility in the temple, where the books, scrolls and clothes of the pilgrims are stamped and have a seal applied, and where also various items are for sale.

okunoin 奥の院: *inner* or *outer sanctuary*; often a sub-temple, which many pilgrimage temples have. See also appendix D. For example, temple #14’s *okunoin* is Jigen-ji, which is also #3 of the *bekkaku* temples; or temple #1’s *okunoin* is Tōrin-in, which is also #1 of the *New Shikoku Maṇḍala Pilgrimage*. See *bekkaku*, *shin Shikoku mandara junrei.*

Okunoin-temple 奥ノ院: the place where Kōbō Daishi’s mausoleum is on Mount Kōya. See *gobyō*.

o-mamori お守り: protective talisman.

o-saisen おさいせん: offertory coins.

osame-fuda-ire 納札入れ: see *fuda-basami*.

osame-fuda 納札: these are name slips; the pilgrim traditionally writes his/her name, address, date and wish on it and places it into the *osame-fuda*-box at both the *hon-dō* and the *daishi-dō*. It is also handed out to the person from whom one receives *o-settai*; it is believed to bring good luck to the receiving person and/or warding off evil from their household. The colour indicates the number of times one has done the pilgrimage.

o-settai お接待: alms-giving to pilgrims.

o-Shikoku-*san* お四国さん: meaning *Shikoku henro*, Shikoku pilgrim, a term often used by people of Shikoku.

o-Shikoku お四国: meaning *Shikoku henro*, Shikoku pilgrimage, a term often used by people of Shikoku.

osugata-chō 御影帳: a book for collecting the おすがた *osugata* (*miei*)-slips, depicting the 本尊 *honzon* of each temple.

osugata おすがた: see *miei-chō*.

o-suna-fumi お砂踏み: touching (either by hand or by stepping on it) of soil taken from each temple’s compound, thus symbolically making the Shikoku pilgrimage.

Ōtsuki-chō-henro-michi hozon-kai 大月町遍路道保存会: *Ōtsuki-Pilgrimage-Path Preservation Association*.

Pure Land, see *fudaraku.*

rakan 羅漢: an *Arhat*, one who has attained enlightenment, by ending attachment, hatred and delusion, who lacks the omniscience of a perfect Buddha.

Reijōkai 霊場会: the official association for the 88 pilgrimage temples on Shikoku Island.

Rinzai-*shū* 臨済宗: transmitted by Eisai (1141-1215) to Japan. Temples #11 and #33 belong to Rinzai-*shū*.

rokudō 六道: the six realms of transmigration of living beings (hell beings, hungry spirits, animals, enemies of the gods, men, and celestial beings in a heaven.

rōsoku 蝋燭: small, white candles, offered by many pilgrims at the *hon-dō* and *daishi-dō*.

Saba-Daishi: see Yasaka-ji

Saga Tennō 嵯峨天皇: 785-841; 52nd Emperor of Japan. Believed to have instructed Kūkai to establish several temples in Shikoku.

Saigoku-sanjūsan-kannon junrei 西国三十三観音巡礼: *Saigoku 33 Kannon Pilgrimage*.

saka-uchi: see *gyaku-uchi*.

sangō shīk i 三教指帰: *Indications of the Three Teachings.* In 797, Kūkai wrote this work, as an explanation to those who opposed his decision to give up his promising career for his monkhood, and also to show the superiority of Buddhism over Confucianism and Taoism.

sangō 山号*, jigō* 寺号*, ingō* 院号: The traditional full name of a temple: *sangō,* mountain name, *jigō,* temple name, and – in case of a large temple – *ingō,* the name of the sub-temple. Although temples were not always located on mountains, the areas surrounding them would always be given a ‘mountain’ name.

sanmitsu-kaji 三密加持: *Three Mysteries* A Shingon-concept: mysterious acts of the *shin-mitsu* 身密 (*body*), *shin-mitsu* 心密 (*mind*), and *gō-mitsu* 語密 (*speech*).

sanreizan 三霊山, literally ‘three spirit mountains’: Mt. Fuji, Mt. Tateyama, and Mt. Haku.

Sanuki no kuni 讃岐の国: now Kagawa-Prefecture Also the fourth *dōjō*, 涅槃の道場 *nehan no dōjō*, the *dōjō* of (entering into) *nirvāṇa*.

seiza 正座: the traditional way of sitting on the Japanese floor, with the feet tucked away under the buttocks.

sekisho-dera 関所寺: 'spiritual control-station' temple.

sendatsu / *sendachi* 先達: first level *sendatsu*. A total of 8,948 living *sendatsu* as of May 2011. Pilgrimage leaders, appointed by the Reijōkai, to teach and lead other pilgrims. They have several insignia through which they can be recognized as a *sendatsu*.

sendatsu-kai 先達会: *sendatsu* training and appointment-seminar.

senkō 線香: stick incense, offered by many pilgrims at the *hon-dō* and *daishi-dō*.

senmai-dōshi 千枚通し: lit. *a thousand consecrations*. A tiny paper slip.

Shiawase-Kannon 幸せ観音: *The Kannon of Happiness* of Dainichi-ji, temple #13.

Shichifukujin reijō 七福神霊場: *Seven Gods of Good Fortune Pilgrimage*, often centred on Buddhist temples.

Shikoku hachijūhakkasho junrei 四国八十八ヶ所巡礼: the Shikoku 88-Temple-Pilgrimage.

Shin Shikoku mandara junrei 新四国曼荼羅巡礼, *New Shikoku Maṇḍala Pilgrimage*: established in 1989 and includes 88 temples and shrines, and is divided into five 'spiritual *dōjō* counter-clockwise around the island.

shinbutsu bunri 神仏分離: decree for Separation of Shinto and Buddhism.

shinbutsu-shūgō 神仏習合: the syncretism of Shinto and Buddhism into a wider system.

shingon 真言: Mysterious acts of speech. A verse, word, or syllable. *See sanmitsu.*

Shingon-shū 真言宗: established in Japan by Kūkai after his studies in China.

shinmyō 神妙: 'sacred', pointing to serious, full-hearted, dedicated, earnest pilgrimage practice.

shōmon 聲聞, *śrāvaka-buddha*, a *Rakan*/*Arhat.*

Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇: 701-756; 45th Emperor of Japan. Believed to have instructed Gyōki Bosatsu (668-749) to establish several temples in Shikoku. He is also believed to have carved several *honzon* enshrined in the Shikoku-pilgrimage-temples.

Shugendō 修験道: ancient mountain worship.

shūha 宗派: affiliation of the temple to sect or denomination.

shukubō 宿坊: temple lodging for pilgrims.

sokushin jōbutsu gi 即身成仏: *Attaining Enlightenment in this Very Existence*. Kūkai outlined his Shingon philosophy in that everybody can attain complete enlightenment in this life, without having to wait for rebirth in this or another world by the practice of the *sanmitsu*.

sokushin jōbutsu 即身成仏: the concept of attaining complete and absolute enlightenment in this very existence; the written work on this by Kōbō Daishi is *Sokushin jōbutsu gi*, completed in 817.

Sōtō-*shū* 曹洞宗: transmitted by Dōgen (1200-1251) to Japan. Temple #15 belongs to Sōtō-*shū*.

sugegasa 菅傘: a pilgrim's hat, made out of bamboo or sedge.

sunafumi: see *o-suna-fumi*.

sūtra and *mantra*-book 経本: containing the relevant scriptures for pilgrims' rituals.

taizō-kai 胎蔵界曼荼羅 and *kongō-kai-maṇḍala* 金剛界曼荼羅: the two major *maṇḍala* of Shingon-*shū*.

tama no ishi 玉の石: *stone ball*, related to Ishite-ji (temple #51).

tekkō 手甲: traditional white hand-protectors that offer some form of protection against sun-burn.

Tendai-*shū* 天台宗: transmitted by Saichō (767-822) to Japan. Temple #78 belongs to Tendai-*shū*.

tengen 点眼: ritual 'eye-dotting'. See *kaigen-shiki* ('eye-opening-ceremony').

tennō 天皇: the Emperor of Japan

Tōen-bō, Zenō-ji, Kōun-ji's Daitsu-an, Daitsu-ji: all have a statue of Daitsūchishō-*Nyorai* enshrined.

tokonoma 床の間: alcove for displaying art.

tokunin dai-sendatsu 特任大先達: seventh level *sendatsu*.

torī 鳥居: Shinto-entrance gate.

Tosa-ben 土佐弁: the dialect spoken in Kōchi-Prefecture.

Tosa no kuni 土佐の国: now Kōchi-Prefecture. Also the second *dōjō*, 修行の道場 *shugyō no dōjō*, the *dōjō* of religious practice, or the dōjō of religious disciplining.

tōshi-uchi 通し打ち: doing the entire pilgrimage in one go.

tōshōgaku 等正覚, *samyak-sambuddha*: a perfectly enlightened one, like Śākyamuni, with unlimited wisdom.

toyoga-bashi 十夜ケ橋: *the bridge of the ten nights*. See Eitoku-ji (*bekkaku*-temple #8).

tsue: see *kongō tsue.*

tsuyado 通宿: *overnight-building*, a simple building belonging to a temple, where a pilgrim can stay free of charge.

udon うどん: Japanese thick wheat flour noodles. A specialty of Sanuki (Kagawa-Prefecture).

Usu-*sama* Myōō うすさま明王 (Skt. Uccuşma rāja): A deity against 'dirt' venerated at Kokubun-ji (temple #15).

utsu 打つ: *to hit,* is used as referring to visiting a temple, dating back from the times when pilgrims nailed *osame-fuda* onto the temple walls. Tosashi-shi Henshū-iinkai mentions (1978: 80) that *osame-fuda* were originally made out of wood and then nailed onto the temple walls. It is also found in terms such as *gyaku-uchi* or *saka-uchi*, both meaning *doing the pilgrimage anti-clockwise*, or *jun-uchi*, *doing* the pilgrimage clockwise.

wagesa 輪袈裟: A circular surplice hung around the neck, worn by priest of Shingon-*shū* and other denominations. A smaller version is also traditionally worn by pilgrims.

yakiniku 焼肉: Japanese grilled meat.

yakudoshi 厄年: *misfortune year,* for men it is 42, for women 33, and for both also 61.

yamabushi 山伏: mountain ascetic.

zenkon no kai 善根の会: *zenkon-association*. Established in 2009 to support pilgrims, particularly those in need or with lesser means.

zenkonyado 善根宿: *house of good deeds:* free private accommodation for pilgrims.

zuda-bukuro 頭陀袋: literally s*nake head*; a bag, to be hung around the neck, to carry small items and necessities.

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Explanatory Temple Pamphlets

Explanatory Pamphlets were received from the following 67 out of the 88 'regular', and 7 out of the 20 ‘independent’ *bekkaku*-temples:

All pilgrimage temples in Tokushima Prefecture (all ‘regular’ except #1, #2, #3, #14, #15; all *bekkaku* except #1, #2, #4).

All pilgrimage temples in Kōchi Prefecture (all ‘regular’ except #24, #26, #30, #34, #39; no *bekkaku* #5).

All pilgrimage temples in Ehime Prefecture (all ‘regular’ except #41, #44, #51, #56, #63, #65; all *bekkaku* except #6, #10, #11, #13).

All pilgrimage temples in Kagawa Prefecture (all ‘regular’ except #67, #70, #76, #78, #79; all *bekkaku* except #16, #17, #18, #19, #20).

Plate 68: “Thank you” to all those, who allowed me to talk with them for this thesis; photograph taken at the *chū-mon*, *middle gate*, at temple #53, Emmyō-ji, on 11 April 2008